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The Shape of Things

REPORTS FROM REBEL SOURCES INDICATE that the great insurgent drive in Aragon has been far more successful than any previous Franco attack in central Spain. Although we lack information from government sources, it can scarcely be doubted that rebel troops have captured Belchite, together with several other towns, and occupied several hundred square miles of territory. How important the advance will prove in comparison with the government's sinking of the Baleares remains to be seen. Most of the occupied territory is wild and uninhabited. It is useful chiefly as a stepping-off place for a drive to cut the Barcelona-Valencia railway. The sinking of the Baleares, on the other hand, seems definitely to have destroyed any possibility that Franco could effectively blockade the Mediterranean ports. It thus reduces the significance of belligerency rights as an issue before the Non-Intervention Committee and diminishes to a certain extent the strategic importance of Franco's attempted drive to the sea. Spain may also gain from the fact that for the moment the focus of fascist attack appears to have shifted to Central Europe. Much depends, however, on whether events in that area eventually serve to strengthen or weaken the Rome-Berlin axis. If Hitler has made substantial concessions to Mussolini in return for Italian neutrality in Austria, they almost certainly involve Spain. If, on the other hand, Hitler has chosen simply to disregard the Duce, as many observers insist, we may see a substantial reduction in fascist aid to Franco. Thus the events of the next few weeks in Spain may furnish the key to the ultimate fate of Europe.

ALTHOUGH THE FAR EAST, LIKE SPAIN, HAS been overshadowed in the past week by events in Central Europe, Chinese resistance to Japan's brand of fascism has shown no signs of weakening in the face of unfavorable world developments. The Japanese attack on Hsuchow seems to be completely stalled on both the northern and southern fronts. Similarly, the main drive down the Peiping-Hankow Railway toward Chengchow appears to have been stopped at the Yellow River. Efforts by the Japanese to cross the Yellow River farther west in preparation for an invasion of Shensi have likewise proved unsuccessful. Only in Shansi has Japan made any substantial gains. Although it may be assumed that

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Japan will ultimately be able to add northern Kiangsu, Honan, and Shensi to its list of conquered provinces, China, after eight months of war, is far more unified and far more determined to maintain resistance than at any previous time. If this determination continues through the difficult days that lie just ahead, Japan may continue to overrun provinces but will not be able to conquer China.

*

WHEN ADOLF HITLER'S BOMBING PLANES roar over Prague, as they have already roared over Vienna, it will be too late to talk of preventing the war which the world has been dreading for a decade. No decent person can want that war, but decent persons have radically different ideas on how it can be avoided. Those who urge a policy of collective security believe that the mass of liberal and left opinion in the United States will respond to a plea for solidarity with democratic forces abroad in an effort to head off the fascist advance before it makes war inevitable. Those who favor isolation insist that American liberalism is overwhelmingly in favor of minding its own business as the one sure way of keeping this country out of war. Believing that the time has come to put both these claims to the test, *The Nation* is sending to over 130,000 American liberals a questionnaire on war prevention. Elsewhere in this issue is a ballot intended for our own readers. We urge them to use it while their votes are still important to an Administration whose foreign policy in a crucial hour remains to be formulated.

*

"SPARE THE RICH" IS THE NEW SLOGAN that Congress has adopted in place of the "Soak the Rich" tendency that was once attributed to the New Deal. Under cover of the general scuttle-and-run psychology that the deepening depression has brought with it, Congress is reverting to the spirit of benevolence toward business that characterized the halcyon tax era of Andrew Mellon. The latest move in this direction was the action of the House last week in passing a revenue bill which it had first stripped of the "third-basket" tax on closely held corporations, and which it almost succeeded in stripping of the provision for publicity of returns. As the publicity provision now stands, salaries of over $75,000 (instead of over $15,000) a year will be made public. The bill that now goes to the Senate is one in which the undistributed-profits tax has been pretty nearly done to death: the small corporations have been completely exempted from it, the larger corporations are taxed only lightly, and the closely held corporations which were the original target of the tax are not dealt with effectively. The Senate, more reactionary even than the House on tax matters, will undoubtedly revise the tax downward even farther. The only possible conclusion one may draw from the tax barrage that the press has been laying down is that the ruling groups in America are bent on taking a course which, in the sacred cause of restoring confidence, would add tax burdens to the wage-earners and still further reduce purchasing power. The doubtful boon of a psychological victory will have to be paid for by a severer breakdown later.

*

BROAD VISTAS OF NEW TAX POLICY ARE opened by recent decisions of the Supreme Court on tax cases. In a sensational reversal of two basic precedents the court held in the Wyoming oil-tax case that the federal government may tax income from land leased by a state to a private company. The reversal is dramatic for two reasons. One is the fact that Chief Justice Hughes, who was part of a five-to-four majority in the Coronado Oil case of 1932, has now switched to the government side, with the bland statement that the Coronado case and the case of Gillespie vs. Oklahoma (1922) "are out of harmony with correct principle and . . . are overruled." The second is the triumph of Justice Brandeis, whose sixteen-year-old dissent in the Gillespie case has now become court doctrine. The effect of the decision will be to widen the area of federal taxation and bring within the scope of the tax laws a good deal of income that had unjustifiably been slipping through the crevices. Taken with several court decisions handed down some months ago, which ruled that the federal government could tax the income of quasi-state officials and that the states could tax the income of contractors on federal projects, the cases show a tendency on the part of the court to redefine the entire theory of tax immunity. Another government victory was scored last week in the Charles E. Mitchell tax-penalty case, when the court ruled, after a brilliant argument for the government by Edward S. Greenbaum, that Mitchell's acquittal in 1933 on the criminal charge of tax fraud did not exempt him in civil suit from having to pay a 50 per cent penalty charge to the Treasury. While the decision strengthens the whole administrative machinery of the Treasury in tax enforcement, it is more than an administrative victory. Mitchell's case was in the common belief the outstanding tax fraud of the century. The government's successful challenge of chicanery among the higher bracketeers will do much to dampen their ardor for evasion.

*

CHAIRMAN MORGAN DID HIMSELF SMALL credit in the President's inquiry into the struggle of the TVA directors. Mr. Roosevelt's attempt to get at the facts behind the sensational charges fell foul of his stubborn refusal to answer questions. There may be some who still regard Mr. Morgan as hero or martyr; we do not. His refusal to give a bill of particulars for his charges leaves him shorn of whatever prestige he may have had. One can only conclude that he has no particulars that will stand scrutiny, or that he wants to make the President's path as thorny as possible, or that he believes that to reveal the facts now would be to detract from the dramatic character of the Congressional inquiry. If the last two of these three possibilities contain, as we believe, the greatest measure of truth, then Mr. Morgan's ethics (about which he has spoken so much) are

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transcended by his politics. No one can absolve the President completely of blame in this whole matter. As Paul Y. Anderson points out elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Roosevelt is paying now for his dilatory tactics in not resolving the impasse earlier. Nevertheless, that furnishes no excuse for Mr. Morgan's tactics. We still want an inquiry by a special Senate committee. But we are learning to expect little more than spleen from the TVA chairman.

*

THE APPOINTMENT OF THURMAN ARNOLD as Robert Jackson's successor in the Department of Justice may be far more fruitful than his critics like to imagine. Naturally his writings are now laid out to confront him, as if he were Walter Winchell turned press agent for the Legion of Decency. At worst these writings disclose that he senses the limitations of the anti-trust campaign, which has always been shrouded in bombast and proclaimed as a cure-all. At best they may provide the base for systematic, intelligent treatment of the monopoly issue. Arnold has maintained, with rich justification, that the anti-trust fight has been surrounded by rampant generalities and moral solemnity. He has debunked the holiness of the war. He believes that there is a battle to be fought—but with devotion to particular problems, to matters of detail, and to variations in the diverse realms of our economic life. He is likely to emulate the best work of the SEC in particularizing his inquiry and in invoking the widest publicity to bulwark real findings. The reactionaries have cuttingly suggested that he would not have his heart in the job. He probably intends to use his brains.

*

FRED BEAL, WHO LED THE GASTONIA STRIKE in 1929, has gone back to prison in North Carolina after a series of events which have taken him through all the vicissitudes of the radical movement for the past nine years. Beal, who was a member of the Communist Party, was convicted with six others of conspiring to murder Police Chief O. F. Aderholt of Gastonia, fatally wounded in a fight growing out of the strike. The American Civil Liberties Union offered to carry an appeal to the North Carolina Supreme Court on the ground that the convictions were based not upon evidence but upon the political views and working-class activities of those involved. While the appeal was pending, the defendants jumped bail. In the years following Beal made two trips to Russia. He came back opposed to the Soviet regime and went into hiding. Last summer he wrote a book in which he denounced the Soviets. He was picked up several weeks ago in Lawrence and extradited to North Carolina. Needless to say, he has been denounced by the Communist press as an enemy of labor. Fred Beal is a casualty of two wars. However strongly one may disagree with his present views, they are not the issue. The issue is the conviction of a labor leader on false charges. Beal has no legal appeal because he jumped bail. His fate rests therefore in the hands of the parole authorities and the Governor of North Carolina. Pressure from liberal and labor groups is in this instance more than ever essential.

*

THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN TRADE AGREEMENT illustrates better perhaps than any previous pact the advantages and limitations of the Hull trade program. It goes beyond other agreements in providing for a reduction in the duty on an important product manufactured in the United States. But the benefit to Czechoslovakia from the cut of 50 per cent in our tariff on shoes is largely nullified by a provision for an increase in the duty if the importation of shoes reaches 1¼ per cent of average production in this country. As has so frequently been the case in the Hull agreements, the United States seems to have exacted a harsh bargain. Czechoslovakia granted tariff reductions on items forming 76 per cent of its imports from the United States, items which totaled $30,000,000 in value in 1936. In exchange, the United States cut duties on only 63 items with a total value of less than $20,000,000, or 55 per cent of our imports from Czechoslovakia. Although Secretary Hull is being criticized by vested interests for granting unwarranted concessions to foreign countries, the evidence is all the other way. Sensitive lest reactionary interests be offended, Hull has exacted far more than he has conceded, with consequent danger to world economic stability. Figures released last week by the Department of Commerce show that our exports to twenty-six trade-agreement countries in January were nearly 10 per cent higher than in the same month a year ago, while our imports from these same countries declined nearly 30 per cent. Although the recession undoubtedly accounted for most of the decline, these figures should give Mr. Hull cause for concern.

*

"THE BIRTH OF A BABY," AN EXTRAORDINARY film made under the auspices of the American Committee on Maternal Welfare, is at present being kept from the public in New York on the ground that it might corrupt public morals. An appeal is now before the Regents of the University of the State of New York. The film is educational in its objectives, and its objectives are such as to shame any group of censors. It seeks to reduce maternal and infant mortality, to avert fear of child-bearing, to prevent abortion, to warn against the dangers of promiscuity, and to present sex in its proper relation to life. In a country which has one of the highest maternal-mortality rates in the civilized world and more than its share of disease and pruriency as a result of the lack of proper sex education, a film like "The Birth of a Baby" should be broadcast far and wide. It has been indorsed by medical organizations, hospitals, maternity centers, prominent physicians, and even by the United States Public Health Service, which is conducting a campaign to bring syphilis under control. Laymen who have seen the film testify that an admittedly delicate subject is handled with amazing intelligence and taste and that it is, moreover, an excellent and beautiful example of cinema technique. The film is being shown in Minne-

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apolis with the vigorous public approval of the Mayor. That it should be barred in New York City is only additional evidence of the attitude which the film seeks to dispel. Write to the Board of Regents in Albany, and make it strong!

✶

GOVERNOR LEHMAN'S BLUNT REJECTION of the demands for the removal of Stanley M. Isaacs was politically wise and legally invulnerable. And Mr. Isaacs, the Republican Borough President of Manhattan, who valiantly stood by his Communist appointee, emerges from the incident with increased stature. While a pathetic chorus led by the Scripps-Howard *World Telegram* still warns that the republic is in danger, Simon W. Gerson remains at a post for which he happens to be well equipped. The net effect of one of the silliest of New York's red scares is that the cause of progressive government has been strengthened and life goes on pretty much as it did before Mr. Gerson seized City Hall.

✶

WITH THE DEATH OF CLARENCE DARROW the nation loses the most colorful of the older generation of rebels. "I am a pessimist with hope" is the way Darrow once described himself, and he had the gift of making both premises persuasive. His view of human nature was Swiftian: while he professed himself an agnostic, there was an element of almost religious laceration in the low opinion he held of human qualities. But this fatalism about man did not prevent him from fighting for men. He was Governor Altgeld's partner, and his supporter during the Haymarket affair; he was counsel for Gene Debs in the railway-strike case, for Big Bill Haywood and his companions in the Staunenberg case, for the McNamara brothers in the ill-fated dynamite case. When he faced William Jennings Bryan at Dayton, Tennessee, in the evolution trial, he made Darwin and Huxley live in the minds of ordinary men and women; his report on the fate of the small business man under the NRA cleared the air of much of the current cant. The record of his life is woven into the record of the labor and progressive struggles of one of the bleakest periods in American history. But his permanent mark will probably remain in the annals of the law—not in the dusty records but in the body of memory, half-myth and half-truth, to which the common man clings. He will go down as the man who could work miracles for the defense in murder trials. With his intuitive grasp of human emotions and his passionate disbelief in capital punishment, he did more than anyone else to popularize the basic social fact that it is the environment that fashions criminals. His achievement was to bring a measure of humanity into the law.

✶

THE NATION AND ALL ITS READERS HAVE rejoiced over the return to these pages of Paul Y. Anderson. Old subscribers had never ceased to remind us that he had been too long absent. A few weeks ago Mr. Anderson joined the Washington bureau of the St. Louis *Star-Times*, and that journal has experienced a similar burst of enthusiasm. We wish to add our congratulations to those of its other readers. The *Star-Times* has been consistently progressive for years. Its chief editorial writer, Irving Brant, is outstanding among liberal newspaper editors. It has a Guild shop. We can say nothing better about the *Star-Times* than that we believe Paul Y. Anderson belongs there.

"Mein Kampf" Unfolds

NOTHING that Hitler had done in the past quite equaled the shrewdness, dispatch, and ruthless efficiency he displayed in conquering Austria. On Friday an Austria which was at least 70 per cent anti-Nazi was preparing to demonstrate its opposition to *Anschluss* at a plebiscite on Sunday. Schuschnigg was defiant; the workers were flocking to his support; there were reports that the Austrian army was being mobilized, and even that Mussolini was giving encouragement if not backing to the government. On Friday night Schuschnigg was forced out by a Nazi ultimatum; early on Saturday morning German troops entered Austria; on Sunday President Miklas resigned, the Austrian army was coordinated with the German military force, the Austrian Nazis were put under German leadership, and Austria ceased to exist as even a nominally independent state.

After this sequence of events, there can be no question either of Hitler's ability to evaluate a political situation correctly or of his willingness to disregard all legal and humane considerations when he decides to strike. Nor can there be any doubt of the absolute nature of his victory. In many ways Austria may prove more difficult to coordinate than Germany. It is predominantly Catholic; it contains a larger proportion of Jews than Germany; and Vienna, at least, has a Social Democratic tradition that was never wholly uprooted by the Schuschnigg dictatorship. Moreover, despite Hitler, a strong Austrian nationalist sentiment exists which will not easily be overcome. Yet nothing unorganized individuals in that tiny country can do is likely to have much effect against the highly organized might of Nazi terror. Austria lost its last opportunity for freedom when Schuschnigg gave the order that the army should not fire a shot in defense of independence.

The conquest of Austria opens the path for Hitler's drive to the East which, according to "Mein Kampf," is to be the next step in Germany's rise to world mastery. That Czechoslovakia will be next is accepted as beyond question. Beyond lies Hungary, already repentant of its years of campaigning for revision of the peace treaties. Rumania under Carol's dictatorship is now strongly under German influence, and would presumably put up little resistance against Nazi economic dominance. Across Rumania lies the black-soil region of the Soviet Ukraine, the ultimate goal of Hitler's expansion to the East.

It remains to be seen, however, whether Hitler has paid a price for Austria that is incommensurate with his

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gains. The fact that his actions have provoked no open criticism in Rome does not mean that Mussolini is pleased to have German troops at the Brenner Pass. The Duce may have been too weak to resist, but he will certainly try to exact substantial repayment in one form or another. Failure to obtain this might seriously weaken Mussolini's prestige at home, and might yet break the Rome-Berlin axis. At the moment, the axis is unassailable, largely because of Germany's strength, but let it be demonstrated that England and France are firmly reunited, and Italy, its dreams of Central European dominance shattered, might well return to the Stresa front.

Outside the fascist bloc the Nazi coup has already had some effect in strengthening, at least temporarily, the forces opposing aggression. The new French Cabinet is much stronger in its orientation against fascism than the one which preceded it. It has been announced that the French treaty with Czechoslovakia will be strengthened so as to assure French intervention in the event of a German attack on the Czech republic. All signs point to a refurbishing of the somewhat tarnished Soviet-French agreement and a reaffirmation of the Soviet-Czech treaty. Czechoslovakia itself has flatly announced that it will fight rather than suffer Austria's fate.

Perhaps the most serious check to Hitler's aspirations may be found in the sudden disruption of Anglo-German negotiations. A more deadly weapon could scarcely have been put in the hands of those opposed to Chamberlain's pro-Nazi policies than has been furnished by Hitler's coup. Although Britain has refused to commit itself to support Czechoslovakia, it has seen a demonstration of Hitler's aims and methods which it is not likely soon to forget. Should France become involved in a war with the Reich, Britain would have little choice but to come to France's defense.

Frightened by the ease of the Nazi triumph, the democratic countries have been drawn together to resist the growing threat of German domination of Europe. While the anti-German bloc is by no means as strong as in the days of the Stresa front, it is still powerful enough to curb Nazi aggression if it remains intact. But is it a sincere opposition? Will it hold together once the events in Austria begin to fade into history? As always, the answer to these questions must be sought primarily in England. France, Russia, and Czechoslovakia must remain anti-Nazi from necessity. But there is reason to suspect that Chamberlain's opposition is merely "for the record." No Prime Minister of England could openly support Germany in the seizure of Austria. Should Hitler, as on previous occasions, allow passion to cool before launching his next adventure, it may again be possible to urge a "realistic" settlement with Germany. Only then can we know with certainty whether Chamberlain has profited by his error, or whether the British people have awakened sufficiently to overthrow the government if it returns to its pro-Hitler policies. In this connection it is heartening to note that the leaders of the political opposition are almost unanimous in urging a solid front of democratic powers to discourage any further Nazi advance in Central Europe.

Whipping a Dead Horse

IT HAS been amusing to follow the reactions to the President's government-reorganization program ever since it was first proposed over a year ago. The first response was one of magnificent boredom: the Brownlow report was long and most of its sounded technical; the feeling was that Presidents have for many years tried to reform the executive departments, and there was little reason for thinking Mr. Roosevelt would succeed where the others had failed. Then came the court fight, and with it two results—an obsession about Mr. Roosevelt as a potential dictator, and a new technique for smearing his proposals. Part of that technique was for the Republican opposition to stay in the background like a puppet-master and pit Democrat against Democrat. Another part was propaganda through agencies like the Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government: frantic appeals for funds to fight threatened dictatorship, open letters by Amos Pinchot, telegrams by the thousand shepherded to Washington. By use of this technique the opponents of reorganization finally managed to drum up some excitement—at least among themselves. Mr. Pinchot and Frank Gannett have called the reorganization battle the "third crisis" of American history, the deduction being that the Revolution and the Civil War were also important.

What is striking is that these tactics are proving to be just duds. The Administration enemies have tried their hardest; Senator Byrd got the Brookings Institution to make a study of reorganization, and it came through with a half million words attacking the Brownlow plan. But we doubt whether even Senator Byrd's zeal extends to reading half a million words. Senators Bailey, Walsh, Clark, Burke, and Glass—Old Guard Democrats fresh from their victory in the court fight—are trying to rouse the country with cries that the republic is in danger. But the country has failed to rally. Even the columnists, who did yeomen's work saving the country last year, have stopped whipping the dead steed of public indignation. Raymond Clapper picks to pieces the opposition on the crucial question of reorganizing the Comptroller General's office, and concludes that the hysteria has fed merely on ignorance of what the Byrnes bill says. Arthur Krock has failed the tory coalition for once; his comment is one of those on-the-one-hand-on-the-other-hand affairs. And Walter Lippmann has written the most sensible comment we have yet read on the bill, telling the coalition in effect that they cannot hope to make another court crusade out of a job of reorganization that has long needed doing.

For the fact is, despite Senator Wheeler's continued determination to carry on his emotional life in public, that the reorganization plan is nothing to get emotional about. There is very little that is new in it. Congresses have been talking about reorganizing the executive branch of the government for almost half a century—ever since the Dockery committee of 1894; but no Congress has ever done very much about it. President Hoover came

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close to succeeding in the task at the end of his term, only to miss out finally. President Roosevelt got emergency authority to carry out a reorganization at the beginning of his term. The crucial fact, as Mr. Lippmann well points out, is that while Mr. Roosevelt had theoretically for a time almost dictatorial power to scramble the government bureaus, he made very little use of it. And the reason is that "while in theory the bill may seem to give him enormous power; in practice it gives him a large collection of political headaches."

The job of streamlining the executive to fit the needs of modern administration has to be done. It is idle for Congressmen to cry that they and not the President must be the ones to do it. The fact is that Congress cannot and will not do it, because any individual Congressman is the prisoner of the patronage system, and the sum of their commitments amounts to inaction. It requires a great degree of personal courage even for a President to do it. But the job is his, and if Mr. Roosevelt has the stamina, Congress would do well to let him try it. The Byrnes bill as it now stands allows Congress by a two-thirds' vote to overrule any rearrangement of bureaus and agencies the President may decide on. That is check enough for any exercise of arbitrary executive power. For the rest, the issue should be fought out on technical administrative grounds and not as if the Senate were fighting Bunker Hill all over again under klieg lights.

Larceny in Wall Street

RICHARD WHITNEY was the central figure in one of those rare combinations of circumstance in which it is possible to reduce the activities of a Wall Street operator to so simple a matter as larceny. As floor broker for J. P. Morgan and Company, he made a market for securities in which millions were lost by investors, but he himself was tripped up by a rather elementary operation. He borrowed money from banks on securities which did not belong to him. As a result some of the outstanding contenders for the governorship of New York seem to be falling over themselves in their anxiety to make a reputation by sending Mr. Whitney to jail. District Attorney Dewey, although a late starter, was the first to bring in an indictment. Mr. Whitney has pleaded guilty to grand larceny, the misappropriation of $100,000 from a trust fund left to his wife, his sister-in-law, Harvard University, and St. Paul's School in Concord, N. H. Attorney General Bennett, whose assistants made no secret of their feeling that Dewey had stolen a march on them, next took Mr. Whitney in tow, also on a charge of grand larceny, this time on an allegation that the broker stole $109,384 from the vault of the New York Yacht Club, of which he was treasurer.

The closing of Richard Whitney and Company, if the losses are only $2,000,000, is not a financial disaster, but Wall Street could hardly have been more embarrassed if J. P. Morgan had been caught helping himself from the collection plate at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Mr. Whitney, five times head of the New York Stock Exchange, had long been one of the Street's chief spokesman for what is known as self-regulation of the investment markets. He seems to have been singularly unsuccessful in regulating his own affairs. According to District Attorney Dewey, investigation showed that Mr. Whitney had twice before taken securities from a trust fund to put up as collateral for loans. On those occasions the loans were repaid and the securities returned. The first time, in 1932, was about two years before Mr. Whitney pleaded that the Fletcher-Rayburn bill establishing the Securities and Exchange Commission would ruin the exchanges and nationalize American business. He said that the Stock Exchange, of which he was president, was ready without interference by government to "assist in every possible way in the prevention of fraudulent practices affecting Stock Exchange transactions, excessive speculation, and manipulation of security prices." The second occasion was in 1937. This was the year in which the investigation of the Wheeler subcommittee into the railroads revealed the failure of the Stock Exchange to disclose reports by an expert in its employ expressing grave doubt as to the financial stability of holding companies. The expert also frowned on listing Alleghany Corporation, a creature of the Morgans and the Van Sweringens, their allies in the railroad field. It will be recalled that Mr. Whitney was on the preferred list for 1,000 shares of Alleghany common at a time when its price was about $35. Alleghany won its listing on the Exchange.

Mr. Whitney's difficulties seem to have arisen from the fact that he and his firm were heavily involved in a small applejack-manufacturing company, Distilled Liquors Corporation. It had 148,750 shares outstanding. The Whitney firm and its partners held 139,400 shares. Question was raised in the investigation as to whether this did not constitute a "corner" in the stock. Unfortunately in this case the stock seems to have cornered Mr. Whitney. An attempt to peg the price, first at $15, later at $9, proved ruinous in a falling market; the announcement by the Stock Exchange that he was under investigation led to a voluntary declaration of insolvency. If the circumstances surrounding Mr. Whitney's fall illustrate the need for the regulation he fought, the absence of the panic fears that have accompanied the closing of brokerage houses under similar circumstances in years of "recession" demonstrates the wisdom of another measure to which Mr. Whitney and his banking colleagues violently objected—insurance of bank deposits.

The Whitney collapse may make the Street more humble in the future, and certainly more careful. The real story has not yet been told. Why did the House of Morgan, with so small an amount at stake, permit Whitney to become so entangled that he turned to larceny as his only way out? Why did the Stock Exchange take the unusual step of precipitating the collapse by publicly announcing that investigation was under way? Was action forced by the SEC? Finally we hope our friends in Moscow do not find too incredible this spectacle of a financial Old Bolshevik forced to confess peculations on a scale so unworthy the traditions of Wall Street.

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TVA Jitters

BY PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, March 14

FRIDAY was wash day at the White House, but for all the President's heroic efforts over the tub a mountainous bundle of TVA linen seems surely destined for the senatorial laundry. What is happening to him is what usually happens to easygoing housekeepers. He should have pitched in long ago. Instead, good easy man, he allowed things to accumulate, and what would have been no more than a brisk job of straightening up must now be a thorough house-cleaning—and one out of which envious neighbors will do their worst to make a scandal.

By his dramatic action in summoning the TVA directors to confront one another in his presence and there prove or retract their mutual accusations, Mr. Roosevelt may have hoped to render further investigation superfluous. If so his intent was defeated by the stubborn refusal of Chairman Arthur Morgan to produce any facts in support of his charges against his fellow-directors, Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal. It is true the chairman cut such a sorry figure that the President would be on solid ground in demanding his resignation at once, but in the face of his broad and persistent intimation that he can and will present proof when Congress authorizes an inquiry, one seems inevitable.

The question is being asked: Does the President have power to remove a member of the board? The only method of removal expressly provided in the TVA act is by concurrent resolution of the two houses of Congress. Some lawyers contend that a Presidential power of removal is implied in the act. It will hardly matter in this case. Resignation or removal of one director or all three is virtually assured. The outcome probably will be determined by the prospective investigation. Unless Chairman Morgan makes a far better showing than he has thus far, nothing is likely to save him. The tame tory columnists and peanut partisans who labor so heavily at making a martyr of him have no genuine concern for his ultimate fate. He is just a handy mudball to heave at the TVA and will receive the same solicitude as one that has been thrown.

His defiant attitude at the White House furnished the most striking corroboration of his colleagues' charge that he is temperamentally unfit to exercise a divided authority. Obviously he was under the most compelling ethical obligation to produce facts in support of his charges of dishonesty, indecency, conspiracy, and intrigue—charges which, as Lilienthal properly said, are libelous if untrue. And certainly he was morally obligated to render an accounting to the man who appointed him and them. No one who takes the trouble to read the eighty-page transcript of the hearing can fail to be impressed by the President's fairness in the face of insistent provocation. Anyone who, after reading it, is willing to compare the proceeding to a Soviet treason trial would do well to take himself to the nearest psychiatric clinic.

Because of their dramatic content news accounts have emphasized Chairman Morgan's charges, and his refusal to substantiate them. More significant to me, on the basis of the record, was one of the charges leveled against him by Lilienthal and Harcourt Morgan—and the evidence which they adduced to support it. The charge was that he actively and persistently interfered with and seriously hampered the preparation and presentation of the government's case in the vital injunction suit brought—and lost—by eighteen utility companies.

To the TVA the outcome of that proceeding was a matter of life or death. It was the culmination and quintessence of all the legal attacks by the combined forces of the power companies. In it all the tactics of obstruction were summed up and put to the test. Yet the record presented by Lilienthal and Harcourt Morgan appeared to show that the chairman sabotaged the government's case from beginning to end, and even sought to impeach some of the government's witnesses. What impresses me most in this connection is not the angry denunciations from the other two directors, but the coldly bitter objections of the lawyers who handled the case. It is not amiss to note that one of these lawyers—and the one who expressed the deepest indignation—was John Lord O'Brian, who served with some distinction as assistant attorney general in the Administration of Herbert Hoover. He was retained in this case as special counsel.

In the midst of the trial Chairman Morgan charged that a number of TVA engineers had complained to him that they were being required to give evidence of a misleading character. Challenged by Mr. O'Brian and James L. Fly to name the engineers, the chairman refused. Already burdened with the task of conducting the government's case against the best lawyers that utility money could hire, TVA counsel went to the trouble of interviewing every engineer who had been called or was scheduled to be called as a witness. They found nothing to support the chairman's nasty accusation.

Considering the chairman's unblemished personal reputation and his excellent record as engineer and administrator before joining the TVA, it seems logical to conclude that considerable provocation must have been required to push him to such extremities. The conclusion derives a color of corroboration from what is known of Lilienthal's nature and methods. The transcript of the hearing itself leaves little doubt that this astute, ambitious, tough-minded young lawyer overlooked no angles in compiling a record against his older colleague. It may

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be an unpleasant characteristic, but it does not impair the force of the record. That can only be done by facts—facts such as the President asked for and was denied.

Although Senator Norris still thinks the investigation should be made by the Federal Trade Commission, to avoid partisan sniping and personal buffoonery, he is resigned to a Senate inquiry. Since a select committee is indicated, and since it would be appointed by Vice-President Garner, always a friend of the TVA, there seems to be no great cause for alarm. In view of the tragic aspect of the whole matter, and considering that a certain amount of clowning cannot be avoided, no great harm can be done by making Senator Bridges a member of the committee.

[In last week's dispatch from Mr. Anderson it was stated that whereas once the N. A. M. bribed Congressmen and page boys, now it attempts to bribe "whole committees." The last word should have been "communities" not "committees."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Europe Learns from Vienna

BY ROBERT DELL

Paris, March 14

HITLER'S annexation of Austria came sooner than anybody had expected, owing to Hitler's desire to prevent a plebiscite that would certainly have resulted in a large majority for Austrian independence. The absorption of Austria puts Czechoslovakia in immediate danger, for the Czechoslovak-Austrian border is not fortified, whereas there are strong fortifications on the German frontier. The Czechoslovak government and the people are meeting the situation with calm firmness. A Prague paper, *Pravo Lido,* spoke for the whole nation when it said yesterday, "We are not Austria and will never in any circumstances follow the example of Austria." Long ago steps were taken to make possible rapid mobilization whenever necessary, and the Czechoslovak army is excellent. The government has declared, in reply to questions from Paris and London, that Czechoslovakia will yield to no intimidation and will resist invasion by force. It has been assured by both the French and the Russian government that France and Russia will fulfil all their obligations under their respective treaties with Czechoslovakia.

On Saturday Sir Eric Phipps, the British ambassador in Paris, was informed by Delbos that the cause of Czechoslovakia was the cause of France, and the same information was given to Lord Halifax by the French ambassador in London. If, therefore, Hitler deals with Czechoslovakia as he has dealt with Austria, the result will be war. He has assured the Czechoslovak government of his pacific intentions, but it is remembered in Prague that in 1936 he solemnly undertook to respect the independence of Austria.

Neville Chamberlain
Courtesy London *Tribune*

The last illusion of those who persisted in believing that Mussolini could be detached from Hitler and induced to defend Austria has been destroyed. This illusion persisted at the Quai d'Orsai up to Friday, when the French chargé d'affaires in Rome was instructed to call on Foreign Minister Ciano, who refused to see him. Nothing about Austrian events was published in Italy until Saturday, when the press approved Hitler's action. Gayda said in the *Giornale d'Italia* that Italy would do nothing to hinder a natural stage in German national history and mentioned that Italy had formally abandoned Austria on March 1, 1937. How anybody can have imagined that the Rome-Berlin axis would exist if Mussolini had not abandoned Austria to Hitler passes my understanding. Yet eminent diplomatists like Sir Robert Vansittart, chief adviser to the Foreign Secretary, appear to have imagined it.

It seems that Hitler did not inform his Italian vassal in advance of his intention to seize Austria, but he has since given Mussolini an assurance that he will always respect the Brenner frontier. German and Italian officers have been fraternizing on that frontier. Mussolini cannot be very happy about the future. He has got nothing from his betrayal of Austria except a worthless promise from Hitler. His only hope now is in the British government. Hitler cannot save him from financial and economic catastrophe.

In France one of the first results of Hitler's coup was Blum's change in his ministerial plans and his attempt to form a government of national union, including Communists and men from the center and right who are loyal republicans, not royalists or pro-fascists. Blum particularly wanted Paul Reynaud as Foreign Minister. The attempt failed because the Communists were ready to subordinate their party and class interests to the interests of the nation, but the center and right were not, excepting Reynaud and a few others. Indignation against the latest example of Hitler's bad faith was intensified by a feeling that it is the inevitable consequence of Anglo-French policy and repeated capitulations. There is great bitterness against Chamberlain and Halifax, only hinted

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at as a rule in the press, but openly stated by Gabriel Peri in *Humanité*. Had the British government agreed to the French proposal, immediately after the Berchtesgaden ultimatum, that England and France should tell Hitler they would tolerate no further interference in Austria, he might have been checked without war. The proposal was rejected by Chamberlain, who explained away the Berchtesgaden ultimatum and pretended that there was a voluntary agreement between Hitler and Schuschnigg.

Moreover, in his speech on Eden's resignation Chamberlain encouraged Hitler to go ahead. Saturday the British and French ambassadors in Berlin made what are described as energetic protests, when it was too late. It was officially announced in Germany that Hitler had rejected the protests as inadmissible—another humiliation for England and France.

Now Austria is given up in Paris as a bad job, and interest is concentrated on acting in time to save Czechoslovakia from the same fate. If England and France and Russia all warned Hitler that any attack on Czechoslovakia would mean war with all of them, Czechoslovakia would be saved without war. The British government has been asked what it will do, and its reply is awaited. Much depends on the policy of the new French government. If Paul-Boncour lives up to his recent expressions of opinion, his policy will not be that of Delbos. He has been condemning the non-intervention farce and advocating closer cooperation with Russia, a firm attitude toward fascist dictators, and less subservience to the British Foreign Office. In March, 1936, when Hitler repudiated and violated the Locarno treaty, Boncour as a member of the Sarraut Cabinet strongly advocated mobilization.

Gangster Triumphant

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT HAPPENED in broad daylight. The small man looked around quickly as if he expected help from the man just behind him. Then he made a spasmodic move as if to defend himself. But the gunman walked toward him with steady, cold purpose. In a moment the small man was lying on the sidewalk, and it was all over. There were plenty of witnesses. The man behind the victim watched the attack intently, at close range; but he never made a move from beginning to end. Two other rather burly men, looking on from a little distance, seemed disturbed during the attack. They glanced at each other several times; once the bigger of the two frowned and shook his head; the other shrugged his shoulders. Afterward, while the body was still lying huddled at the feet of the gunman, they both rushed up and expostulated with him. He merely smiled. It was broad daylight, and the whole thing was clearly seen by many bystanders.

So Austria was murdered.

Of course it was not as simple as that; no crime is. The causes reach far back into the history of the relations of the gunman and his victim; they ramify in many directions. But once the crime has been committed, it is well to concentrate for a moment on the final fact: Austria is finished, and Germany stands over it, the perfect exemplification of brutal success, the gangster triumphant. Here we see the victory of pure force, untarnished by scruple, pity, hesitation, indecision; contemptuous of the weakness of its victim, scornfully certain of the vacillations of other interested powers. Here is final proof of what no longer needed demonstration—that a ruthless nation driving ahead toward its own goals cannot be stopped by inaction, compromise, and an anxious hope that perhaps the gun isn't really loaded.

Hitler's gun is loaded, and he knows his goals. He has announced them to the world. He is achieving them one by one. First, the wiping out of the Treaty of Versailles; second, the conquest of Austria; third—Czechoslovakia? He has drawn his territorial aims on maps and hung them in each German schoolroom. Every ordinary citizen in every nation knows them—everyone, it seems, except the diplomats, the men in power. To them alone the future is strangely obscure. They confer and bargain and exchange polite expressions of confidence attached to polite inquiries and requests. They hunt boars. They attend picturesque ceremonies. They visit Hitler in his charming Berchtesgaden eyrie. And now that it is all over they are shocked, terribly, terribly shocked. Mr. Chamberlain, who had been discussing colonial demands with the new German Foreign Minister, got the first hint of Hitler's intentions in Austria just before Herr Ribbentrop's departure from London. Lord Halifax, who knew his Nazis so well that he was sent to Berlin to prepare the way for the final, friendly settlement of German claims, and for this high achievement was then made Foreign Minister—Lord Halifax was caught completely by surprise and was reported pacing up and down his office "holding his forehead like a man distracted and exclaiming: 'Horrible! Horrible! I never thought they would do it!' "

Only his predecessor, Anthony Eden, knew what was known by every bus-driver and housewife in London, and his amazing perspicacity first drove him to defeat and isolation within the Cabinet, and then drove him out of it. Now that he has gone and the corpse of Austria lies sprawled across the Central European highway, the men who forced his resignation are emerging from

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their astonishment and preparing to adopt (too late?) his point of view and policy.

But the crime has older roots. Along the path of Austria's post-war history stand certain datestones marking stages in its sure but uneven progress toward extinction. One was the Treaty of St. Germain, which set up a new Austrian state. The second—February, 1934—was the slaughter by Dollfuss, at the instigation of Mussolini, of the Socialist workers of Vienna. The third—August, 1934—was the abortive Nazi coup and the assassination of Dollfuss. The fourth and last—February, 1938—was the meeting at Berchtesgaden at which the Austrian Chancellor agreed to Hitler's terms.

These dates mark crucial points in the history of the crime. The inexcusable Treaty of St. Germain, dismembering the old Hapsburg empire, carved out Austria, an amiable, impotent dwarf, dependent from the first on other countries and forbidden by the very terms of its birth certificate to unite with its stronger sister state, the new German Republic. Austria survived somehow, on bad debts and scenery and hopes; and the Socialist government of Vienna even created, out of almost nothing, a brilliant demonstration of municipal socialism in action. But always the Austrians looked toward union with Germany as a way out of their economic impasse—a reasonable ambition which aroused spasms of fear in the foreign offices of the Allied states. In 1931 a proposal for a mere customs union between the two German countries created an international financial panic.

The customs union was not established and *Anschluss* was fatally postponed. But Austria's disequilibrium was not overcome. The countryside—poor, reactionary, and Catholic—resented Socialist Vienna. The federal government represented the Catholic hinterland; Vienna represented only Vienna—and the working-class hopes of the world. Armed forces sprang up on both sides. Difficulties multiplied. When the peasant premier, Dollfuss, ended the parliament in the spring of 1933, he encountered no great opposition. This was partly because Hitler had become chancellor and dictator of Germany, and Austria was being deluged with a flood of threats and propaganda from another source. Nazi groups, organized in Austria, practiced new and more ruthless forms of terrorism. Hitler openly declared his intention to annex Austria, but this was not the kind of *Anschluss* Austrians had hoped for. Dollfuss looked southward for protection, and Mussolini adopted him.

Mussolini did not—and does not—want Hitler on the Brenner Pass; he wanted Austria to continue as a helpless barrier between the two hungry dictatorships. To survive in this role it was necessary to strengthen the central authority—and suddenly Dollfuss became a real dictator. He disbanded the Socialist Schutzbund and allowed the Heimwehr to assume more power; he announced a new authoritarian constitution which would have abolished the independent trade unions. The Socialists fought back, knowing that their existence was at stake. Dollfuss's struggle with the Nazis grew more active and complex. And finally a simple solution of the situation was proposed by Mussolini. Dollfuss was to clear the decks by wiping out the Socialists.

And that act marked the second fatal step in Austria's collapse. The workers were slaughtered in the streets and in their homes—the fine municipal tenements built by their Socialist government. Their defense was courageous beyond belief but it failed—through inefficiency and democratic scruples and an honest dislike of bloodshed. And when it was over, a thousand workers were dead, and the chance of withstanding Hitler by the creation of an anti-Nazi front had been blasted out of existence.

Then came the Nazi coup. Dollfuss was killed, but his government survived. Why? What held Hitler's hand in 1934? The Socialists were crushed; his own followers were active and arrogant. Two things saved Austrian independence at that time: (1) the Austrian masses failed to rise; in spite of disorders here and there, no genuine response greeted the news—falsely spread by radio—of the government's collapse; (2) Mussolini mobilized the Italian army on the Brenner Pass. So Hitler pretended he had never sanctioned a Nazi coup in Austria, and he let his henchmen go to prison and the gallows.

But four years have passed. Hitler and Mussolini are military allies. Germany has rearmed. The Treaty of Versailles is all but forgotten; the League is not even appealed to by the victims of aggression. The Rhineland has been fortified. Every act of defiance has met with success. But Hitler has only begun. The time has come to fulfil those other announced aims; and the first is the one that stands at the head of the Nazi program—all Germans must be united under a single flag. Then the rest must follow, as fast as possible, for time is also important. Germans, apparently, can live on pride and promises, but factories cannot operate on them even for a day. Germany needs resources—as well as more Germans. So Berchtesgaden and the surrender of Schuschnigg.

Schuschnigg's desperate last-second gesture of defiance was important for only one reason. It revealed with sickening clarity what he and his predecessor had sacrificed when they killed the Socialists and smashed the labor movement. In his extremity last week Schuschnigg appealed to the workers of Austria. And out they came, bravely and deliberately, to help Schuschnigg save Austria; making no conditions except that they be permitted at least the same privileges as the Nazis, asking only for arms and a chance to fight for the government that had driven them underground and killed their comrades. But all their valiant gesture accomplished was to mark them out as the first victims of the new Nazi terror.

Schuschnigg called on the workers just four years too late. This time the Austrian Nazis were ready; they rose at Hitler's command. This time German troops poured across the border, closed the frontiers, occupied the centers; and bombers circled over Vienna. This time the handful of Italian border guards at the Brenner politely greeted the motorized German unit that swept up to the pass. And this time the Western powers were divided and frightened, out-bluffed and out-maneuvered. So Hitler is the dominant figure in Europe today, the gangster triumphant.

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War in the Peace Movement

BY JAMES WECHSLER

I

THE leaders of two prominent peace societies were mournfully appraising the outlook for world peace. Mr. X bitterly insisted that the President's failure to invoke the neutrality law in the Far East should be converted into another "Supreme Court issue." Mr. Y, having been weaned on the League of Nations, still drew spiritual strength from Geneva. Neither mentioned the private boycott of Japanese goods. Their talk ran the gamut of human interests from monetary stabilization to lower tariffs—and then to the long view.

"When the next war is over," said Mr. X finally, "we've got to prevent the nations from writing another Versailles."

"A peace without victory; then peaceful change," intoned Mr. Y.

The next day Mr. X quietly asked one of the foundations to finance an exclusive study of peace treaties.

So did Mr. Y.

Concern over the next peace treaty is no longer considered premature among some of America's more mellowed peace leaders; to outsiders it may seem like making plans for an ambitious social life after your funeral. Yet on the surface the American peace movement is enjoying an unprecedented boom. Its leaders used to address audiences which remained absent in large numbers; they wrote letters to the editor when their existence was questioned. Now they snuggle into headlines beside Admiral Leahy. Anti-war literature is being read as well as printed more widely than ever before. Certainly there has never been a period more congenial to the growth of the movement.

But something is wrong. For the established peace societies have tragically failed to exert any pronounced or positive influence upon the course of American foreign policy. They debate passionately among themselves; they hurl occasional epithets in unison; they address feverish and conflicting appeals to public opinion. Meanwhile, American policy returns to the traditional pattern of a big navy which even the admirals don't understand, of preparedness without perspective. While the peace leaders waver between jitters and paralysis, between futile hysteria and fatalistic "long view," the old preparedness lobby dominates. A glimpse of the peace movement in action—and inaction—may throw some light on the causes of its failure and explain the growing interest in peace treaties.

Strictly speaking, the phrase "peace movement" is a euphemism. What passes under that name is a strange, confusing array of more than fifty national organizations which want peace, in one form or another. Many of the organizations don't want anything except peace—at varying prices. Others also want prohibition restored or the equal-rights amendment passed or God more widely publicized. Still others insist that they don't want anything at all; they are just "educational." Most of them have nothing against capitalism. Whatever their individual reasons for existence, they jealously guard their field of action, with dark frowns for those who try to muscle in.

But they have certain characteristics in common. Most of them were founded in the post-war years. They articulated that ardent idealism which demanded the creation of permanent peace machinery. World Court, League of Nations, disarmament—these phrases were their ritual. In practical politics they were appallingly ineffectual. Yet despite persistent rebuffs the peace leaders of that period remained cheerful. A deeply religious animation—which originally inspired most of them—bolstered them against the setbacks of the real world; the character of their constituencies enabled them to scorn immediate results. For the followers of the peace movement ranged from devout, crusading idealists to sober men and women who sent in their dues as faithfully as they remained members of their churches and alumni associations. It was a middle-class movement, recruiting women who were seeking a "cause," educators who were anxious to make some frail contribution to adult society, clergymen who wanted to enthrone Christianity in a harsh world, enlightened men of moderate wealth who wanted to distinguish themselves from Babbitt without causing too much of a row. Peace was the answer. It still is.

In those years the peace organizations rendered some real services to popular understanding. They did not do a great deal more. They endowed the present-day movement with a profoundly middle-class heritage and a marked inferiority complex. They encumbered it with a host of prejudices, divisions, and false hopes, with hostility toward "radical" or "violent" techniques (even when most of the peace leaders were being labeled red by respectable people) and distrust of or indifference toward the labor movement (which remained emphatically indifferent in return).

In 1933 it became apparent that Something Had to Be Done. Still pleading for universal disarmament, the societies were confronted by the fact of aggression. In an effort to reconstruct their battered lines, a group of the leading peace organizations established the National Peace Conference to serve as a clearing-house, to prevent duplication, and, most important, offer a solid front whenever possible in the political arena. As a clearing-house the conference has done admirably. As a solid

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front it firmly stands for peace in general—and straddles most issues of immediate relevance.

The National Peace Conference includes forty-one affiliated organizations. They range from membership bodies to committees, from peace organizations to the W. C. T. U. When the membership of all these agencies is totaled, the figure passes 40,000,000. But that total should not be taken too seriously. Subtract liberally for duplication. (Thus while 6,000,000 women are represented in the conference by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, which unites eleven women's groups, many of these groups have individual representation also.) Subtract further those persons who know only vaguely that they belong to an organization which belongs to the conference. What you get is an unknown remainder of the "peace-minded." To them must be added the members of such "outlaw" organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy (formerly Against War and Fascism), which optimistically claims more than 3,000,000 supporters; it is barred from the N. P. C. because it harbors Communists in its ranks.

Even with these reductions, however, the National Peace Conference represents a numerically impressive group. If all its affiliates could agree on propositions more urgent than lower tariffs, they would be more formidable. A cross-section of the conference will reveal why it is a sadly divided camp.

Reading from right to left, we see first the most respectable bodies, strictly committed to inaction. These have the most distinguished trustees, the largest budgets, and the longest view. Of this company the most august is the Carnegie Endowment. The Carnegie Endowment made an exhaustive survey of the cost of the last war; it will undoubtedly make a similar survey of the cost of the next. As its bulletin explains: "That more wars may take place is regarded as inevitable; to prevent them is not the work of the peace endowment." Its work is rather to provide nearly a million dollars a year primarily for research, which future historians may acknowledge more ardently than future war veterans.

Suffering from comparable reticence, but for entirely different reasons, are the large religious organizations which represent the numerical majority of the National Peace Conference. Their real strength can only be estimated by conjecture. A church leader may like to pretend, in peace politics, that he speaks for millions of devout constituents; he knows that on crucial issues of national policy he can speak for himself alone. Thus the millions of Protestant constituents of the Department of International Justice and Good-Will of the Federal Council of Churches undoubtedly cherish international justice and good-will. But how many are for isolation, how many for collective action, and how many are just "peace-minded"? The large women's organizations contain members with similarly discordant views. A notable advance was registered when delegates to the last conference of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War reached agreement on a program of collective security.

That forty-one agencies with so diverse a membership have set out to find peace through the National Peace Conference may be a reassuring note. That all their members will vigorously support a program which their leaders write is as likely as an outburst of mass picketing by the rank and file of the Union League Club. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of member organizations in the conference are not geared for pressure action—except the militant circulation of reading lists.

Within this languid assemblage, however, is a core of ardent, aggressive, and defiant societies whose directors are largely responsible for the peace movement's current prominence. They do most of the talking and furnish the momentum for whatever is done. Several of them represent organizations with no members at all, and are thus virtually free to say what they please when impulse or habit dictates a public pronouncement. In reality they are but a small sector of the N. P. C.; but they explain its strained disposition and its periodic tumult. In this company the most dynamic figures are Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War—venerable, vociferous, and haunted by visions of red herring and British chestnuts menacing the peace movement; Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—aggressive, a talented lobbyist, and an experienced old-timer; John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Mrs. Estelle Sternberger of World Peaceways, Inc., Oswald Garrison Villard of the Committee on Militarism in Education, Clark Eichelberger of the League of Nations Association, Henry Atkinson of the Church Peace Union, and a handful of others. As individuals or as spokesmen for their organizations they are the leading figures in the movement's power politics. Walter Van Kirk, director of the conference, acts as monitor when things threaten to get out of hand; his attempts to keep the peace among the delegates are no less heroic than his broader efforts.

The first five named, plus William T. Stone of the Foreign Policy Association, who occasionally plays quarterback, are the spearhead of the isolationist team. Most of them are convinced that someone in the State Department is engaged in a sinister conspiracy to plunge the country into war when nobody is looking. This fiery bloc literally represents groups that are numerically insignificant, but exploits a vast reservoir of popular feeling. Mr. Libby's National Council, with thirty affiliated organizations, has no individual membership; its bulletin goes to 23,000 subscribers. Miss Detzer played a memorable role in setting the stage for the Nye inquiry, but the Women's International League still has only 14,000 members. The pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation claims 8,000. The sponsors of World Peaceways set out in 1931 to persuade big business that "peace pays," a sentiment which Bruce Barton had kindled. E. R. Squibb and Sons capitulated and financed a radio program; since then press, radio, and business executives have succumbed to appeals for free space, time, and donations. The society boasts that "our achievements have been made possible by the cooperation of business and industry, which believe that world prosperity depends upon the maintenance of world peace." While its propaganda

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network is amazingly far-flung, most of it goes to prove that war is hell. That news was last year spread in journals with a total circulation of 25,000,000.

Against the barrage of material from these groups there has been only a moderate, almost inaudible counter-attack. Mr. Eichelberger has made valiant efforts to rally opinion behind a program of joint international action, but with neglible success. Such efforts have been hampered by the tendency of even pro-League groups—which have equally moderate memberships—to feel that collective pressures which have not been sanctified by Geneva must have been manufactured in Moscow. It was only after months of appraisal that Eichelberger's League of Nations Association indorsed the Japanese boycott in "better than nothing" terms. Through his efforts a "Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts" was set up to organize the collective-security forces. After issuing one manifesto, it lapsed into silence.

These conflicting factions have been tugging at the State Department's ear for months. One wing has clamored for enforcement of the neutrality law, for the Ludlow bill, for repudiation of the President's Chicago address. Another, with less sound and only occasional fury, has begged for collective measures to stem aggression. In all the turbulent debate the naval budget looms largest. In a sense the isolationists have emerged supreme, although it is questionable to what extent they have molded American policy—or lack of policy—and to what extent they have merely cheered while a steamroller gathered momentum. Granting their own claims to effectiveness, they now face a tragic dilemma. They are told that if the United States must henceforth stand alone, as they have always insisted, a great navy is imperative. No excited telegrams from the Women's International League, no protests from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, appear able to prevent this; the latest Gallup poll shows a 73 per cent majority for a larger navy—as a peace measure. The isolationists happily point to the Nye inquiry as a momentous event in which they played a real part. They are also pleased by the neutrality law which flowed from that inquiry—a law which has proved disastrously "unneutral" in the Spanish war.

Meanwhile the collective-security advocates are busy at other things. Mr. Eichelberger has been organizing a campaign for world economic cooperation which will reach a climax at a Washington conference next week. All of them nonchalantly neglected to attend the naval hearing.

In Washington the hostile cries from one side drown out the cries from the other. Even when the peace societies are fairly unanimous—and loud—their influence is largely imaginary. Recently a group of churchmen went out and hunted up a man with a thundering voice. They took him down for an interview with President Roosevelt. He read their booming manifesto attacking the naval budget. But the Navy League will get its ships.

[*In the second part of this article Mr. Wechsler will give an account of what the National Peace Conference as a body has—and hasn't—done on issues of immediate importance.*]

Columnists on Parade

IV DALE CARNEGIE

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

DALE CARNEGIE of Missouri is a growth rather than a columnist. But what he puts forth every day looks like a column, and since he is a species that we have always with us he is worth a brief glance. His column, started in November, has had a fast rise. He belongs to the school of Elbert Hubbard, Walter Pitkin, and Addison Sims of Seattle. He thrives on the desperate desire for success in the land of opportunity, and he operates in that large and peculiarly sterile sector inhabited by the housekeepers and upstairs servants, the sub-bureaucracy, of business. He preaches a sermon of inverted inferiority which runs like this: If you are a bad salesman, you have only yourself to blame. But don't despair. "You do not know what treasures are within you." It's a matter of handling people. Andrew Carnegie knew the secret, and you can learn it. He then quotes William James, John Dewey, Charles Schwab, Abraham Lincoln, Dorothy Dix, Lao Tze, Socrates, and Publius Syrus. He has many testimonials from business men who by following his simple rules, backed by the authority of Socrates and Charles Schwab, made two orders grow where one grew before. And the Dale Carnegie Institute of Effective Speaking and Human Relations is so successful that it recently displayed its wares in an advertisement covering practically a full page of the New York *Times*.

The warm glow diffused by Mr. Carnegie's advice to the success-lorn may be measured by the fact that his book "How to Win Friends and Influence People" has sold 768,545 copies. It is "the most popular work of non-fiction of our time," and recently the United States Bureau of Prisons asked its publishers to submit bids on 200 copies for prisoners in Leavenworth, Atlanta, and Alcatraz! Carnegie's column, "On Success," is mainly a rehash of the book.

Why did Andrew Carnegie succeed? Here's a clue:

> When he was a boy back in Scotland, he got hold of a rabbit, a mother rabbit. Presto! He soon had a whole nest of little rabbits—and nothing to feed them. But he had a brilliant idea. He told the boys in the neighborhood that if they would go out and pull enough clover

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Can We Insure America Against War?

TORN by conflict, with actual warfare in two continents and deep divisions of interest and opinion in all nations, the world longs for peace while it plunges toward the most disastrous of all wars. Our mere physical separation from the two embattled continents is no guaranty of peace for the United States unless we can present and adhere to a vigorous, consistent *peace policy.*

Profound differences among us impede the development of such a policy. Our extreme isolationists say we should wash our hands of the struggles of Europe and Asia. They maintain that we can keep out of the next world war only by adopting a drastic policy of non-intercourse—no trade with a warring nation; no loans or credits; no Americans permitted in areas of conflict; no Americans permitted on ships of nations at war; no commitments to aid the future victims of aggression, either by economic measures or through diplomatic intervention.

Believers in collective security disagree at almost every point. Peace, they say, is in the end indivisible. It cannot be preserved here if it is extinguished in Europe and Asia. With China overrun by Japanese armies, Spain fighting for its life against fascism, Austria actually annexed by Germany, and Czechoslovakia the probable next victim, no end to aggression is in sight. Successive surrenders by Great Britain and France and by the League of Nations to the aggressive powers have resulted not in peace but in further demands, new aggressions. Only if the fact and threat of aggression are met by the united resistance of the democratic powers can a new world war be avoided. A world war would ultimately engulf the United States, no matter how many laws were written to prevent it.

Which Policy Affords Us the Better Chance of Security?

THE NATION regards this as the greatest question before the people of the United States today. A safe foreign policy depends upon our ability to answer it wisely—and promptly. Above all, the liberals of the country should express themselves clearly. It is to them that our Administration looks for support and direction. Readers of *The Nation* form an accurate cross-section of enlightened liberal opinion. They want peace. How can we best insure the future of our country?

Though liberal desire for peace is a complete unit, liberal opinion about how to achieve it is perilously divided. It is vital that the weight of the two opposed schools of thought be known now, while the knowledge can be of value to the Administration in formulating its foreign policy. This urgent need has caused *The Nation* to draft and address to AMERICAN LIBERALS the adjoining questionnaire, to make known the consensus of opinion regarding the surer way to peace for the United States in the existing emergency.

The Nation *of April 2 will contain the results of a separate poll of newspaper editors on this subject, also special statements by liberal leaders prominent in various spheres of American life. From week to week thereafter the magazine will present the returns from the general poll, together with related articles by celebrated writers on world affairs.*

If you wish to keep this copy of the magazine intact, write at once to The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y., for a separately printed copy of the Questionnaire and Ballot.

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Peace-Policy Questionnaire and Ballot

I. In the long run, which offers the better insurance against war for this country—

1. Isolation? ..... ☐
2. A policy of cooperation with other nations in defense of peace? ..... ☐

(Please answer the questions under A and C, or B and C, depending on your answer to the questions above.)

A—Isolation

II. If you favor isolation, do you believe that our present Neutrality Act, if applied, would supply sufficient guaranties of American security?
(Circle YES or NO.)

III. If your vote on Question II is *No*, would you go beyond the Neutrality Act and stop all trade with belligerents, withdraw all aid from American citizens in countries at war, and refuse to consult with other nations on ways to avoid or end further conflict?
(Circle YES or NO.)

IV. Do you believe that a policy of isolation—

1. Should be backed by a large increase in the army and navy? ..... ☐
2. Or should we depend chiefly on measures of economic non-intercourse to protect us from war? ..... ☐

B—Collective Security

V. If you believe in collective action, what sort of commitments do you favor?
(If you favor more than one, mark your preferences 1, 2, 3.)

1. Joining the League of Nations? ..... ☐
2. Acting in common with other signatories to the Pact of Paris? ..... ☐
3. Collaborating (through joint or parallel action), as occasion demands, with the major non-aggressive powers? ..... ☐

VI. What sort of collective action do you advocate to check aggression?
(If you favor more than one, mark your preferences 1, 2, 3.)

1. Economic measures directed against the offending power? ..... ☐
2. Economic support for the victims of aggression? ☐
3. The threat of collective armed resistance to aggression? ..... ☐

VII. The present Neutrality Act prevents economic cooperation with other nations to prevent or resist aggression. Would you favor—

1. Repealing the act outright? ..... ☐
2. Or amending it to permit economic aid to the victims of aggression? ..... ☐

C—In Either Case

VIII. Has the failure of the major democratic powers effectively to oppose the aggressions of Germany, Italy, and Japan weakened your belief in the possibility of collective action?
(Circle YES or NO.)

IX. Has it caused you to direct your hopes for such action to non-official groups in all countries—particularly to labor and liberal and pacifist elements in the populations and the parliaments?
(Circle YES or NO.)

X. Do you favor the application of voluntary popular boycotts to goods coming from nations engaged in aggressive warfare?
(Circle YES or NO.)

XI. Do you believe that the United States should join in or support efforts to reduce the economic causes of friction by such means as—
(If you favor more than one, mark your preferences 1, 2, 3.)

1. A redistribution of colonies? ..... ☐
2. Reciprocal trade agreements? ..... ☐
3. Cancellation of war debts? ..... ☐
4. Stabilization of currencies? ..... ☐
5. Relaxation of immigration restrictions? ..... ☐

XII. Do you believe in a referendum on the question of a declaration of war by the United States?
(Circle YES or NO.)

Please be sure to fill in your name and address below, and mail this page to The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York, N. Y. *Unsigned ballots cannot be counted* with the published results.

Name ..... Street .....

City ..... State .....

For further announcement, turn to outside back cover.

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and dandelions to feed the rabbits, he would name the bunnies in their honor. The plan worked like magic; and Carnegie never forgot it.

Carnegie knew how to make people feel important!

Here's another tip:

I go fishing up in Maine every summer. Personally I am very fond of strawberries and cream; but I find that for some strange reason fish prefer worms. So when I go fishing, I don't think about what I want. I think about what they want. . . . I dangle a worm or a grasshopper in front of the fish. . . . Why not use the same common sense when fishing for men?

Henry C. Frick's secret was tenacity. "Well, any one of us can acquire tenacity." The secret of Charlie Schwab's success is his capacity to handle people. "Charles Schwab told me himself that he had many men working for him who knew more about the manufacture of steel than he did." How does he do it? "Well, while I am dealing with [men] I mentally swap places and it seems to work." He told Dale Carnegie so himself. Carnegie has met a lot of rich men in his day. His rules for winning friends make it easy for him to get them to talk to him, and they have all told him the secret of their success, as rich men will. Invariably it has been some admirable talent for handling human relationships. Throw away your economics textbooks.

One of the first principles of his lexicon is the futility of criticism. He proves it by saying that Albert B. Fall, "Two Gun" Crowley, and Al Capone never repented. "So when you and I are tempted to criticize someone tomorrow, let's remember Al Capone, 'Two-Gun' Crowley, and Albert Fall." That should go big in Alcatraz.

What struck me hardest was Mr. Carnegie's example of the "greatest winner of friends the world has ever known." It's the dog. "A dog," he wrote on February 9, "knows more about the art of winning friends than all the philosophers and psychologists that have ever lived." Study the dog. Mr. Carnegie has; as a result he has given us the best outline of the science of tail-wagging and hand-licking ever written. (But don't think he means flattery. That's insincere, and a dog is sincere.) And in case you're trying to forget it, almost 800,000 people are presumably busy learning the science, to the great success of Dale Carnegie.

I have one serious criticism. He gives full instructions about how to get ahead by acting like a dog. But he slights the under-dog. Maybe you'd better hang on to your union card after all. He gives employers a tip on how to fire an employee without hurting his feelings. According to a testimonial, of which Mr. Carnegie receives hundreds, the way to fire a man is to say, "Mr. Smith, you've done a fine job. . . . You've got the stuff . . . you're going a long way wherever you're working." If you use that technique Mr. Smith goes away feeling a lot better about being fired. Mr. Carnegie also tells employers how to make employees happy at no extra expense.

J. A. Want, head of the J. A. Want Organization, . . . was faced with the necessity of changing a mechanic's attitude and demands without arousing resentment. . . . He was always complaining that the hours were too long . . . that he needed an assistant. J. A. Want didn't give him an assistant, didn't give him shorter hours or less work, and yet he made the mechanic happy. How? This mechanic was given a private office. His name appeared on the door, and with it his title—"Manager of the Service Department."

He tells how John D. Rockefeller, Jr., after the Ludlow massacre, won the strikers to "his way of thinking" with a speech which "presented facts in such a friendly manner that the strikers went back to work without saying another word about the increase in wages for which they had fought so violently." He says by the way that "business men are learning that it pays to be friendly to strikers." Still, I'd keep that card.

Mr. Carnegie's courses have been conducted at the Westinghouse Electric Company, the New York Telephone Company, the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. He thrives on junior junior executives and salesmen, who write him stories of how they sold themselves to the boss. But what about the boys who fed Andrew Carnegie's rabbits and the under-dogs you see haunting factory gates or nosing garbage cans? Surely he has a message for them. This must be it.

Sometimes my ego rises and fills me with a degree of complacency which might still all my ambition if it lasted long enough. This is when I stop to realize that in certain respects no multimillionaire has anything on me. For instance, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., can't enjoy a good book any more than I can; Andrew Mellon himself couldn't see his wonderful collection of oil paintings with any better vision than mine. . . . Yes, when I think of all the joys I can have at so little cost, I might, if I didn't really enjoy my work and had no responsibility, even drop back and apply for a place on the relief roll.

The Carnegies are not in themselves important. But there are many of them, and as yeast in the dough of small reaction they have their larger uses.

[*Next week: Eleanor Roosevelt.*]

Spring Song

BY FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

Oh, Spring comes dancing down the lane
In Germany, Japan, and Spain;
And poets raise *humana vox*
To sing the vernal equinox;
And the ending of the season snowy
In the Italy of Horace's Chloë.
But Spring's particularly grand
In this—Columbia, happy land
Where everybody's a Good Neighbor,
And Capital's in love with Labor.

A truce to velvet ridicule!
The world's a knave! the world's a fool!
And I'm for picketing, with cards:
"THE SPRING'S UNFAIR TO UNION BARDS."

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Hitler Dooms the Church

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

THE annexation of Austria aggravates the church problem for Hitler. When he came to power in Germany in 1933, the churches were divided and weak; in Austria, where more than 90 per cent of the population is Catholic, the church is strong, united, and anti-Nazi. Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna has made clear on innumerable occasions his intense dislike of Hitler's philosophy and program. The majority of Austrian Catholics, though they might be sympathetic to *Anschluss* for other reasons, have resisted it on religious grounds, and many will continue to do so.

Probably in anticipation of the Austrian coup, Hitler has sought to create the impression in recent months that he was discontinuing his war on the churches. Hundreds of clergymen have been released from concentration camps since Christmas. The charges against Martin Niemoller, the leader of the Protestant revolt, were reduced from treason to minor offenses, and his trial resulted in what was substantially an acquittal, though, to be sure, he was rearrested immediately afterward and held without trial. Even Hitler himself, in his speech before the Reichstag on February 20, invoked God and Christianity as witnesses to the justice of his cause. Whether these developments actually indicated a change of heart or were merely maneuvers in a well-thought-out plan for the annexation of Austria is a question that can be realistically answered only in the light of Hitler's promises and performances with reference to the German churches.

The twenty-fourth article of the avowedly immutable Nazi platform declares, "The party as such represents the point of view of a positive Christianity without binding itself to any particular confession." On this basis and also because Hitler promised to save Germany from anti-religious Bolshevism, great multitudes of churchmen rallied to his cause. Pastor Niemoller joined the National Socialist Party and was its ardent supporter until it attacked the church. Father Rupert Mayer, who later became the spearhead of the Catholic opposition in Bavaria, urged his people to follow the new leader. The Papal Nuncio in Berlin, Orsenigo, an ardent Fascist, participated in the negotiations which brought Hitler to power. Millions of Protestant and Catholic laymen followed their leaders into the Nazi camp.

It is difficult to understand the spiritual blindness of these people, especially the clergymen. Apparently they were so completely concerned with narrow church interests that they were oblivious to the profounder implications of the Nazi movement. How could they not see that a

By their blindness and lack of comprehension they made the Nazi dictatorship possible. They showed little concern when Hitler robbed the German people of their freedom and imprisoned or murdered pacifists, Social Democrats, and Communists. Pastor Niemoller's sermon pronouncing God's blessing on Hitler's electoral mandates after the burning of the Reichstag was an interesting revelation of the mentality of the clergy. A small number, among them Cardinal Faulhaber, have denounced discrimination against Christians of Jewish descent, but scarcely a voice has been lifted against persecution of the Jews as Jews. Only when Hitler began to attack the church did the clergy rise to resist.

The Catholic church was the first victim. According to the last census there are 23,772,000 Catholics in Germany, about one-third of the total population, and they increase by nearly 1 per cent yearly. Because this group owed allegiance to a "foreign power," possessed a world-embracing, non-nationalistic *Weltanschauung*, and exercised firm control over its youth, it quickly came into conflict with the new regime. But out of its immemorial shrewdness the church decided that it would be better to come to terms with Hitler than to fight him. The result was the Concordat of July 3, 1933. The Vatican promised that the priests would abstain from all political activities. In return Hitler guaranteed to German Catholics freedom of worship, of education, and of the religious press.

In actual fact the church has been steadily attacked and persecuted. Too clever to forbid Catholic worship or to arrest the bishops, the Nazis have sought to break the hold of the church on the people, especially on the young people. They abolished the Catholic charitable societies. They so effectively censored the Catholic periodicals as to leave the faithful without correct information about the religious situation. They arrested printers who published papal encyclicals. They disbanded the Catholic youth organizations and insisted that all children must belong to the Hitler Youth. They gave children the legal right to disobey their parents in any conflict between Hitler Youth and the church. For example, if, as often happens, the youth organization announces a hike for the hour on Sunday morning when children ordinarily go to church, their parents on penalty of arrest must permit the children to march. Through one ruse or another most of the parochial schools have been closed. Ugly pressure is exerted by local party leaders upon parents who still send their children to church schools. All of this is accompanied by propaganda against the church in

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preventing them from employing Christian house-maids and imprisoning them for relations with Aryan women, so priests were defamed not only by largely trumped-up charges of currency smuggling and palpably absurd accusations of conspiracy with Communists, but also by much-publicized immorality trials designed to demonstrate that they were an evil influence on Catholic youth. Whereas fewer than 1 per cent of the church officials were charged with such offenses and only a small number of those were convicted, the way the trials and the publicity about them were handled gave the impression that the entire church was morally corrupt. Catholic parents have told me that as a result their children are unwilling to go into a church out of fear of what the priests may try to do to them.

There is no question that these tactics have driven large numbers of Catholic young people away from the church. On the other hand, they have made it perfectly clear to loyal Catholics that the Concordat was never sincerely intended by Hitler and that he is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the church. At great risk and with heroic courage some Catholic leaders have openly defied and denounced the regime. This has infuriated Hitler, who had hoped to liquidate this problem without such notoriety as Russia's anti-religious program obtained.

The Protestant churches were attacked on another front. Unlike the Catholics, they represented the majority of the German people and they had no foreign entanglements. The problem here was to break the hold not of the church but of its ideology. The Nazi god is a jealous god. For a Protestant to say, "We must obey God rather than man," is blasphemy in his sight. But while the Nazis seek to destroy the power of the German Catholic church, they may permit the Protestant churches to continue on the condition that they subordinate their ideologies and loyalties to those of the state.

A useful weapon was ready at hand for the coercion of the Protestant churches. Nearly all of them are dependent on the state for financial support. Not even churches will bite the hand that feeds them, thought Hitler, as he appointed one of his followers to administer their affairs. This Nazi, Bishop Müller, proceeded to interfere in church affairs whenever he could in any way promote the interests of the Nazis. He withheld support from or closed down churches which did not accept Hitler as their supreme arbiter. He had imprisoned, expelled, or transferred to unimportant rural parishes the prominent clergymen who persisted in their loyalty to Christ. He organized an efficient and ruthless espionage system to terrify the preachers and their congregations. Even to this moment no minister knows whether the strangers in his audience are Gestapo spies or not. Thousands of clerical and lay leaders have been sent to concentration camps on genuine or manufactured charges of disloyalty. Powerful pressure has been exerted on laymen to re- prom- national aims. Ewald Banse justifies the

The problem of divided loyalties which Christianity raised for the Nazi regime has been attacked in three ways. The most extreme group in the party desires the complete elimination of Christianity as Jewish and corrupt, and the substitution for it of a medieval, Germanic, pagan religion. This is a minority group and will probably remain so. The others are divided between those who wish to see the sects abolished and one all-embracing national church established and those who would be content with the complete Nazification of existing churches. They vary from Labor Leader Ley, who said, "The party claims the totality of the soul of the German people," to Church Minister Kerrl, who announced, "God has decided. The sole final spiritual authority in the Reich is Adolf Hitler. He will say what Christ and Christianity mean to the Germans."

For some time churchmen labored under the delusion that Hitler was unsympathetic or indifferent to the anti-religious campaign. Again they were strangely blind not to realize that in a totalitarian state no such fundamental policy is initiated without the approval of the dictator. Hitler's attitude toward religion was shaped by the writings of the anti-Semitic, anti-Christian Houston Stewart Chamberlain. In the darkest hour of his career he was befriended in the home of the Wagner family, where he absorbed the composer's mystical, pagan, Germanic religion. His favorite intellectual mentor is Alfred Rosenberg, the most violent anti-Christian of them all. To him Hitler has intrusted the education of youth, of labor, and of the storm troopers. Only last fall Hitler awarded to Rosenberg the highest prize for his contributions to German culture. These facts, together with his failure to stop even the crudest and cruelest attacks on the churches, make it clear that Hitler is the directing force in the anti-religious campaign.

What are the motives behind this attack? Why should a dictator who has displayed the shrewdest psychological insight in achieving and extending his power follow a course which must inevitably arouse the stiffest and the most irrational opposition in large masses of the German people? Why did he not follow Mussolini's lead and come to terms with the churches on some basis which would have assured him the loyalty of the churchmen? In its simplest form the answer is that National Socialism also is a religion. It is the deification of the power politics of a fanatical and unscrupulous party. One cannot read its literature, listen to its exponents, attend its meetings, without finding in it a mystic faith in the divinely appointed superiority of German blood and soil. Given this premise and its sequel—that therefore Germany under its present inspired leadership is destined to world supremacy—then the attacks upon Christianity become inevitable. The external forms of Christianity, however, may be spared, because these can be used to

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It is the essence of Christianity which the Nazis cannot abide. At the heart of Christianity is the teaching of love as exemplified in the life of Jesus. Hitler rose to power on a shrewdly planned program of hate for the groups that stood in his way, and he is now achieving world power on the same basis. At the best Christianity implies democracy, for it insists on the equal worth of all men before God. To this Hitler replied in "Mein Kampf": "The church sins against the Holy Ghost when it preaches the brotherhood of man." He is quite logical. The doctrine of human brotherhood leaves him no moral basis for insisting on German supremacy or for persecuting minorities. The Jews are especially disturbing to his German persistence in seeking a logical basis for an irrational emotion. How can he tell the German for six days in the week that the Jews are despicable, only to have him go to church on the seventh to worship one of them and to read their sacred literature?

Hitler is the ruler of a totalitarian state whose primary objective is military power. He must insist upon the *Gleichschaltung* (prostitution) of every national agency to that end. An institution which raises questions of ultimate loyalties, which insists that there is something good even in one's enemies, which preaches a debilitating doctrine of love, is a nuisance and must be put in its place. As Professor Hans Willi Ziegler of the Rostock Teachers' College admits with disarming frankness in his book "The New Spirit of Military Education," "the soldier who has to kill in war wants a quite open and clear answer. He can do nothing if he is entangled in theological disputations. *The soldier cannot be burdened with scruples.*"

One must neither magnify nor underestimate the significance of the religious opposition. Niemoller, its spokesman, is a Nazi in spirit. At this moment he would probably rejoin the party and promote its aims if it ceased to attack the church. His religion is of the old-fashioned hell-fire-and-brimstone variety, completely free from any suggestion of that humane liberalism which alone is the hope of Germany. His social outlook is reactionary. The most exuberant passages in his autobiography deal with his military prowess as the head of a battalion suppressing the Spartacist red revolt in the Ruhr. A victory for Niemoller would bring no change in the status of the people. He has fought for freedom of conscience for the churches, not for other groups.

On the other hand, it must be said that the clergy alone have raised the standard of revolt during the five years of Nazi rule. They alone have challenged the cosmic arrogance of Hitler. The churches are crowded today, perhaps because in them alone men can hear something vaguely resembling criticism of the regime. It is too much to hope that they will be victorious over Hitler if the regime endures, for he possesses the youth of Germany, who will determine the future. But the churches can keep alive a spirit of rebellion which under other conditions may help to liberate Germany. In any event, their present plight demonstrates again that a church which becomes bound up with a system of exploitation and oppression is doomed in the modern world.

Courtesy of the Black Sun Press

Saints

Drawing by George Grosz

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

More Dispatches from Moscow

AS THE result of a long consultation with a seventh son of a seventh son and my favorite crystal-gazer, I am enabled to score a great beat on the press of the world by presenting here some telegrams from Moscow which bear the dates 1940 and 1941:

Moscow, February 1, 1940. The Soviet Union's forty-first great public treason trial within the past five years began today in a grim atmosphere in the former Nobles' Club, now the House of Trade Unions. The baby-blue walls with their frieze of dancing girls and their crystal chandeliers were the same which saw the end of Zinoviev and Kamenev and their fourteen associates, the sentencing to death of Radek, Piatakov, and eleven others in 1937, and of Krestinsky and Bukharin and their nineteen associates in March, 1938. The same official, Andrey Y. Vishinsky, conducted the prosecution, and the presiding justice was again Vassily V. Ulrich. The chief culprit was the former president of the Council of People's Commissars, Viacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. Placed upon the stand, ex-President Molotov confessed freely and eagerly in the manner of an undergraduate Buchmanite confessing his first guilty dreams. Mr. Molotov told how he had prayed for the death of Lenin when Lenin was ill, had fed poison bread pills to Stalin whenever the dictator came to dine with him, and admitted that he had been in the pay of the Germans ever since he graduated from public school, fifty years ago. He asked eagerly for the death sentence and it was promptly given to him by the presiding justice, who assured Mr. Molotov that he had always been happy to oblige him.

Moscow, May 1, 1940. The attendance at the forty-second great public treason trial, which began here today, was record-breaking, there being special eagerness to hear the announced confession of the former ambassador to the United States. Mr. Troyanovsky lived up to expectations. To the jammed courtroom he told in detail how he had been taken to a private entrance of the State Department on the day of his arrival and conducted secretly to the office of the Secretary of State. Here he found no less a person waiting to receive him than the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. "I gladly accepted the $5,000 bill which President Roosevelt offered to me and from that time on conspired with him to overthrow the Soviet Union. I daily sent him copies of our most secret dispatches, keeping him posted as to all details of our military preparations for war with Japan. He warmly approved our dispositions on the Amur River but criticized the smallness of our fleet and advised us to order seven more battleships in a bunch just as he had done in the armament bill of 1938. Altogether I deposited $175,000 in my private account in 1938 and 1939." It caused a great sensation in the courtroom. The presiding justice stated that he would take under advisement the question of summoning William Green, the present American ambassador to the Soviets, to give confirming testimony.

Moscow, October 11, 1940. The scene in the trial room of the forty-third great treason conspiracy illustrated very clearly today the fundamental differences between the Russian and the Anglo-Saxon character. The star prisoner was the mother of Joseph Stalin. In America a mother accused of trying to poison her distinguished son would have shown some evidence of remorse or grief or regret at the position in which she was placed. But it was easy to see that this gray-haired witness was in a state of almost exaltation, buoyed up by the satisfaction of clearing her mind of guilt by the confession which came so quickly from her aged lips. She explained that her animosity to her son dated from the day that he changed his name to Stalin. "That steel," said she, "entered my heart. He did not come often to see me, but whenever he did I conspired with the local physician, whose high character everyone knows, to give him particles of ground glass in his food. Of course, I pretended to be devoted to him, and that is why I welcome those bullets which will soon be mine in the prison yard."

Moscow, January 1, 1941. The most sensational event in all the long series of treason trials took place today at the first session of the forty-fourth trial, for which there were arrayed no fewer than 177 defendants, all charged with having plotted the downfall of the Soviet Union one month after it was founded in 1917. To the astonishment of everybody, including the prosecutor and the presiding judge, Joseph Stalin himself walked into the courtroom unannounced and in happy tones asked the court to waive the taking of evidence and pass upon him at once the sentence of death. He confessed clearly and loudly that he was the intimate friend of Léon Trotsky and that during all the time he was dictator he spent nothing less than three hours a day seeking to betray himself and the Soviet Union. Dramatically he exclaimed, "I, Joseph Stalin, with the aid of Trotsky took foreign gold to overthrow myself. Though I never succeeded in doing so, I crave the privilege of appearing before the firing squad at daybreak tomorrow." Without leaving their seats the judges unanimously granted his request and urged that he have his body embalmed and placed beside that of Lenin.

Moscow, March 31, 1941. The latest batch of conspirators against the Soviets, found guilty yesterday and sentenced to death, were shot at daybreak today. As there were 647 of them, machine-guns and six-inch cannon were used to get rid of them in a bunch. There is great jubilation in Moscow because this batch included all the survivors of the men and women who under Lenin founded the Soviet Union. Cheering crowds swept through Red Square this morning rejoicing that the end of the conspiracy against the Soviets had been reached.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Self-Destruction

MAN AGAINST HIMSELF. By Karl A. Menninger. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.75.

WHATEVER judgment may ultimately be passed upon the claims of psychoanalysis, one thing is clear. Certain of its basic assumptions were accepted immediately by the general public for the simple reason that they seemed to be true as soon as they were stated.

Of all those who habitually employ the concepts "repression," "compensation," and "sublimation" in their everyday thinking probably not one in ten has ever examined the clinical evidence upon which the case for the scientific validity of the concepts is supposed to rest. Even fewer ever concern themselves with the technical disputes between the embattled dogmatists of this "school" or that, and I doubt that either the successes or the failures of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic method have had much effect upon the extent to which certain of its basic assumptions have come to be taken for granted. They were accepted simply because they seemed to give a clue to the meaning of certain patterns of behavior with which everyone was familiar but for which none had a name. And if these concepts are ever dislodged, it will not be because of technical objections, either scientific or philosophical, which anyone has succeeded in raising against them but only because some other at least equally satisfactory way has been found of identifying and describing persistent patterns of behavior.

Dr. Menninger's new book will undoubtedly attract the widespread interest it deserves, not only because his account of certain related types of abnormal behavior carries the same sort of conviction that the broader generalizations of psychoanalysis have always carried, but also because, as has so often happened previously, pathological cases suggest clues to the understanding of certain aspects of apparently normal behavior which would be overlooked if we had not observed them exaggerated in the behavior of the mentally deranged. There is not, of course, any complete novelty in Dr. Menninger's recognition of the existence of a self-destructive impulse in man. Edgar Allan Poe proclaimed it before Freud was born. But those who read "The Human Mind" do not have to be told that Dr. Menninger has a gift for exposition which is both interesting and persuasive. In this instance he has also a collection of case histories not only fascinating in themselves but so arranged as almost to tell the story for him.

The book deals with the psychology of suicide—by which is here meant not only or even most importantly complete self-destruction by a single act but also what Dr. Menninger calls Chronic Suicide and Focal Suicide. Men who cut their throats or who throw themselves in the way of oncoming trains are not the only ones who seek in some way to destroy themselves. There are others who, for obscure reasons, mutilate parts of their bodies, methodically drink themselves into the grave, or, more strangely still, repeatedly suffer physical accidents of one kind or another as the result of what they themselves sometimes believe to be almost incredibly persistent bad luck. Then there are the men who are chronically sick for no apparent reason, the men who fail where success seemed easy, the men who repeatedly do or say at a crucial moment the very thing which they themselves would at any other time know should not be done or said. And it is Dr. Menninger's conviction that such men are trying to destroy themselves as certainly as are those who, often with the same absence of rational motive, deprive themselves of life by some one definite act. Doubtless there are cases in which suicide can be accounted a fully rational act, but in many cases it is not, and the irrational compulsion which leads to immediate death is probably often the same as that which leads to alcoholism or chronic failure. In the majority of cases Dr. Menninger believes that the compulsion can be traced to one of two usually hidden motives—the desire to punish oneself or the desire to punish others; either, that is to say, to the need for expiation or to an extension of the need expressed in the recurring childish thought, "They will be sorry when I am gone." Dr. Menninger also believes—and explains that he is driven to the somewhat sensational conclusion only by the accumulated weight of personal observations—that a considerable number of actual physical ailments are to be explained as the result of a will to self-destruction. He is careful to explain that he is by no means suggesting that all ills are psychic. But he has again and again seen cases in which indubitably organic lesions were apparently produced by the will of the patient.

No such account as the present can suggest the richness of the illustrative case material presented in the work or the fascination of the theories it unfolds. To me it is one of the most absorbing books which I have happened to read in recent years, and the conviction which it carries is, if I may return to the point made at the beginning of this review, much like the conviction which is carried by a powerful novel. What impresses one most is not anything which is, or perhaps could be, proved but the conviction which is carried by mere statement. What Dr. Menninger says seems true because one seems to recognize one's own observation and experience now for the first time coordinated and given shape.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

DeVoto and His Epoch

BERNARD DEVOTO: A PRELIMINARY APPRAISAL. By Garrett Mattingly. Little, Brown and Company. $1.

ART is long and recognition is notoriously tardy, and therefore it is a source of peculiar satisfaction to see a writer full appreciated, not at the end of his literary labors, but at a somewhat earlier stage. It does no less credit to Mr. Mattingly's powers of perception than to Mr. DeVoto's qualities of distinction. A literature has grown up around Bernard DeVoto, but it is a literature of blurbs and polemics. So far as I am aware, the only monograph on the subject has been "Bernard DeVoto: A New Force in American Letters" by Professor Robert S. Forsythe (not to be confused with Mr. Robert Forsythe, the Marxist humorist). Professor Forsythe's work has suffered for being the pioneer in the field, yet on DeVoto's principal novel—the name escapes me at the moment—it pronounced what has been allowed to

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remain the final word: "No American novel since 'Moby Dick' has been so nearly cosmic; and Mr. DeVoto's artistry is surer and his onward sweep far less often interrupted than that of Melville."

It is ten years since Professor Forsythe and Messrs. Macmillan collaborated on that prescient little volume, and meanwhile DeVoto has not been idle. He has changed publishers, won new friends, and is by way of influencing more and more people. A mere comparison of the bibliographies of these two books, or even of the frontispieces, will indicate that some further explanation is called for. Mr. Mattingly's volume is small, but it would be difficult to produce a book commensurate with the subject. This is not the time, unfortunately, for a conclusive summing-up. With the self-effacement characteristic of disinterested scholarship, Mr. Mattingly is the first to admit the provisory nature of his conclusions. He would doubtless recognize that an adequate book on DeVoto is still to be written—to say nothing of an adequate book by DeVoto. What impresses DeVoto's friends today, even more than a decade ago, is his tremendous potentialities. Well may he exclaim, with King Lear:

> I will do such things—
> What they are, yet I know not; but they will be
> The terrors of the earth.

Mr. Mattingly's study is refreshingly free from the biographical debunking and literary backbiting that have not spared Edgar Allan Poe or Brigham Young or Abraham Lincoln. Diligently and patiently he has unearthed the obscure facts about DeVoto and broken down his native reticence. The real DeVoto emerges as a very different figure from what our superficial knowledge of his writing would lead us to suspect. We should, indeed, have welcomed a more Boswellian account of his relations with his circle. Sometime colleagues and contributors, those who have—as it were—seen Shelley plain, should shore up their *memorabilia.* But possibly they will not need to be told this. Possibly they are all engaged in writing books on DeVoto.

Fulke Greville said of Sir Philip Sidney that his life was his greatest poem. So it might be said, by those given to hasty generalization, that DeVoto's literary career eclipses the brilliance of whatever he may have happened to write. But that would be ignoring two ambitious books which, as Mr. Mattingly shows, nothing short of critical conspiracy could have managed to ignore. "We Accept with Pleasure" is "a difficult book," and "Mark Twain's America" is "uncompromising." While readers of novels were lulled by the insipid conventionality of John Dos Passos and students of criticism were cajoled by the time-serving complacency of Granville Hicks, what room was there for DeVoto's kind of courage and integrity?

Bernard DeVoto—and we owe this rare intuition to the author of this volume—is essentially a non-conformist. It was non-conformism that led him, after his "Farewell to Pedagogy," to settle down within hailing distance of Harvard, when other writers were scrambling toward the *Rive Gauche;* to single out, with uncanny eye, the unappreciated merits of Robert Frost when Hart Crane and Ezra Pound were being feted and bepulitzered; to incline in the austere direction of Thomas W. Lamont when other critics were treading the primrose path to the bosom of Karl Marx; to fling prudence to the winds and rally to the defense of the community of Caribou when its moral equilibrium was disturbed by the spectacle of Miss Kitty Smith in shorts. It would have been easy and obvious to absorb the illusory doctrines of Jefferson, Thoreau, Whitman, and Veblen, but DeVoto would have none of them. Rather, he accepted a thankless apostleship in the vineyard of Pareto, and strove earnestly to clear our stubborn minds of the fetishes of democracy. This, in one who has never shirked the full responsibility of speaking in behalf of American tradition, was a supreme act of non-conformity.

Is it surprising, then, that Bernard DeVoto's raft should be drifting down the main stream of American letters? With Thomas Green Fessenden, Albion W. Tourgee, the brothers Duyckinck, and the late George Apley, his immortality is secure.

HARRY LEVIN

X-Ray Realism

LIFE ALONG THE PASSAIC RIVER. By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $1.75.

DR. WILLIAMS takes no detours around life. Using realism with the precision of a surgeon exposing the vital organs, he achieves art. His materials are those of his own life, the experience of a busy doctor engaged often in clinical and charity work. His vision is stated in his own words: "I defend the normality of every disease, every amputation. I challenge anyone who thinks to discomfit my intelligence by limiting the import of what I say to the expounding of a shallow morbidity, to prove that health alone is inevitable." His political position is implied in this bit of dialogue:

> "A clear miss," he said. "I think if we'd gone in there earlier, we'd have saved her."
> "For what?" said I. "Vote the straight Communist ticket?"
> "Would it make us any dumber?" said the ear man.

These sketches—many cannot be called short stories—teem with life, with the urgency, the fury with which life continues despite all that our general ignorance and our society do to kill it. Dr. Williams sees the heroism and the glory in corruptible flesh, among the diseased, the poor, the ignorant, and the immoral—the people, in short, who are "cuckoo as a funny strip. But at that it is not so funny." One of these stories is about a girl with a pimply face who is cured not only of her pimples but of ineffectual living by her will to find out causes; another is an account of a child's violent physical struggle to keep the doctor from examining her throat because she knows she has diphtheria. The doctor's anger at and admiration for the little fighting "animal" are both part of the comedy. One could point out that each of these sketches is, in a way, symbolic, but the reader discovers this for himself. The impact of these tales is due to the fact that everything expressed in them is pared down to the bone, to the essential structure. The shock of each story is the shock of observing bone suddenly and cleanly unfleshed. Without any sentimentality, and with the utmost dexterity, each little piece of the human pattern of living is made significant.

The comedy and tragedy, and always the human dignity, of birth and death—which a doctor observes daily—are Williams's subject matter. He stresses the psychology of the doctor-patient relationship, the exchange of feeling between healer and diseased. His scene is the Passaic River town, its tenements, its dirty streets, and its hospital clinic where the dramatic fight for the preservation of seemingly worthless lives takes place. Williams's art lies in his ability not only to paint his picture with unforgettable exactness but to expose what he himself *makes* of his picture. He has been compared to Hemingway because of his clipped prose. But in

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truth he is neither philosophically nor technically like the author of "The Sun Also Rises." He is not a sentimentalist, or a romanticist; he is not disillusioned. He faces life at its ugliest and reacts to it with a kind of gusto and faith. In his prose as in his poetry he is an imagist, a painter of pictures. He so uses commonplace, concrete words that they live again, expressive of new violence or tenderness, revealing a new awareness.

Williams's art is realism intensified with a skill as of X-ray in penetration and analysis—realism, in other words, vitalized by an imaginative way of viewing life which is unique, comprehensive, and very American. Despite the evidence in his writings of a clear political position arrived at through practical experience, Williams is never a propagandist. He lets his material speak for itself. Because he is a fine artist, he can make the picture, the action, the facts illuminate his theme; he need not comment.

EDA LOU WALTON

The Osiris Way

U. S. 1. By Muriel Rukeyser. Covici-Friede. $2.

THE appearance some two years ago of Muriel Rukeyser's "Theory of Flight" was attended by rejoicing. Here was evidence that the Social Muse, after presenting Papa Marx with a large brood of cheer leaders, minor prophets, off-key locomotive whistles, and non-starting Diesel engines, had cohabited with Apollo somewhere on the premises of Vassar College or the Roosevelt School of the Air, and had at last brought forth a poet. These tidings are, in general, confirmed by "U. S. 1," although it does not show marked development from the first book and exhibits many of the same faults.

The new volume is a sizable one, as books of poetry go, and the author could well have spent another year in polishing it. She is still in her early twenties, and has plenty of time. A writer with energy, fertile imagination, and many ideas, she is so eager to make way for the new insight that she ignores the exactions of her craft. Her success is in the larger plan of the poem and in the frequent line and image; the details are blocked in carelessly. The influence of Auden and company on her rhythms and syntax has not been altogether happy. Essentially an imaginative realist, when she attempts, as in The Cruise, their vein of satirical fantasy, she does herself something less than justice. At her rare best as productive of verbal magic as any poet now writing, she is often inattentive to word textures, and she has not yet realized the potentialities of form.

Despite these flaws, "U. S. 1" contains some of the most original verse of recent years. The Book of the Dead, the sequence which forms the first half of the volume, has the virtues of honest documentary writing, yet keys them to a higher pitch. Although one expects the poet to intervene in the world, there are some subjects which dictate that intervention be kept at a minimum. Miss Rukeyser has been possessed by one of these, namely, the deaths by silicosis of recent memory at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia. This is certainly not a theme which calls for decoration. There is no possibility of heroic tragedy here; it is a stark horror which needs neither rhetorical embellishment nor screeching of the moral.

The poet has gathered her material with the same thoroughness which led her to attend an aviation school in order to prepare herself to write "Theory of Flight." She has read up

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on the history of West Virginia, she has consulted the records of the Congressional investigation and interviewed the investigators themselves. And finally, she appears to have spent some time at the scene of the crime, and to have talked with the families of the dead and with some of the victims who had not yet succumbed to the silica which was rotting their lungs.

Like a lawyer with an air-tight case, she lets the witnesses tell their own stories, alternating their testimony with the introduction of the written records. We are shown the mountain town, the power plant and dam, the men at work without masks tunneling into the pure silica, the Negro coming out so covered with dust that he looks like a white man, the workers as time passes becoming short of wind and dragging their feet, the local doctor hedging on his diagnosis, the secret burials in the cornfield, the lawyers of the dying settling with the company for a few dollars. The grim impersonality of the affair is conveyed by the doctors' analyses of the X-ray pictures of the victims' lungs, by the mathematical equations of the engineers, and by the stock-market reports of the prosperous company for which the job was rushed.

All these things are told objectively, in an unobtrusive rhythm which has cumulative force. What the poet has added chiefly, what makes the poem something more than social documentation, is the imaginative scheme which holds it together. This is twofold. The poet has taken the arterial highway through America, and Gauley Bridge is only the first stop on a long journey that is promised to the reader. But this road is also the Osiris Way described in the Egyptian Book of the Dead. The tunnel is the underworld, the mountain stream is the life-giving river, the Congressional inquiry is the judgment in the Hall of Truth. And the whole tale, of course, is an emblem of rebirth: the dead, in the fulness of time, shall rise to shape a new world. This scheme is suggested rather than presented; Miss Rukeyser has not overweighted her poem with allegory. Yet the few quotations from and allusions to the Egyptian scripture suffice to assimilate the particular incident to a universal pattern, and to give it more than topical significance.

The ritual pattern of the dying god has a perennial appeal to the imagination and expresses an eternal truth about the human spirit. It produced the birth of conscience in Egypt and Greece; Paul's shaping of the Christ story to its mold enabled Christianity to conquer the ancient world; in another form, the medievals transmuted it into the Grail legend. And in recent times Eliot, Lawrence, and MacLeish have re-enacted it in the hope of inducing rain to fall upon the waste land. That it should lend itself, in a secular and humanitarian form, to another dawn of conscience in the new literature of social protest also seems fitting.

But the history of the ritual pattern indicates that there are potential dangers in its use. Professor Breasted says of Miss Rukeyser's source: "In so far as the Book of the Dead had become a magical agency for securing moral vindication in the hereafter, irrespective of character, it had become a positive evil." Translated into contemporary terms and into the language of aesthetics, this statement would read somewhat as follows:

If the new literature remains the naive expression of an eschatological hope, its social function will be extremely limited, and it will be a minor literature. There is a place for marching songs and for incantations over the dead, and there are reasons why much of the new writing should be of these kinds. But a major literature will not rest content

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with the exhilarating anticipation of new life. Forms of life are more important to the artist than the fact of life. I am not suggesting that the poet should try to give a detailed picture of the New Jerusalem, for such prophecies are always thin and unreal. The artists themselves, in any case, and not the critics, must discover how to combine the probing of the present evil with the envisagement of the good. The mature genius of Thomas Mann, who has also taken the Osiris Way in his Joseph novels, is finding suggestions of the desirable forms of life in the past and the timeless present. Perhaps Miss Rukeyser's journey across America will follow a similar route.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Herndon's Lincoln

THE HIDDEN LINCOLN. From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon. By Emanuel Hertz. Viking Press. $5.

IN "The Hidden Lincoln" Mr. Hertz makes a notable contribution to Lincoln bibliography. His book will need to be considered by those studying Lincoln or Herndon hereafter from any angle. His thesis in this volume is that both Lincoln and Herndon have suffered from the neglect with which the researches of the President's junior law partner have too often been treated by Lincoln's biographers. Mr. Hertz, therefore, after prolonged and admirably diligent investigations among the Herndon collections in the Huntington Library, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere, reproduces in organized form selected letters which Herndon wrote to Lamon, to Hart, and to Weik, whom he chose to assist him in the writing of his three-volume "Lincoln," published in 1889. Mr. Hertz presents, also, many other letters from Herndon to correspondents asking for information about Lincoln after his assassination, as well as letters, in answer to Herndon's inquiries, from persons who had known Lincoln in his youth or during his maturity.

These documents illustrate the untiring persistence and intelligence employed by Herndon, through many years, to amass facts and impressions of many sorts to test and supplement the knowledge which he had acquired from long and intimate association with Lincoln during their law partnership at Springfield. The letters from Leonard Swett and the statements of John Hay, Mrs. Thomas Lincoln (Abraham's stepmother), R. B. Rutledge, Gillespie, and others were collected by Herndon's industry to give completeness to the authentic testimony he was gathering to assist him in his preparation of the life of Abraham Lincoln he felt he must write.

To this material the author adds Notes and Monographs, chiefly found in the rich Huntington Library collection of Herndon papers. Herndon's Boswellian theory of biography was to give "the best yet said as well as the worst" about his beloved and loyal hero. To tell the truth was, he believed, fidelity to Lincoln, whom he considered the "best man . . . since Christ," and "the great central figure in American history." To give all the details about his great partner was the motive that drove the none too active Herndon to plan and laboriously get together the wide range of biographical materials now accessible to the scrutiny of Lincoln researchers and interpreters. Mr. Hertz of course is right in insisting that some Lincoln biographers have apparently underestimated the credit due to the man who initiated the Lincoln biographical movement and whose fund of information was so great.

THE AMERICAN SEMINAR

At the suggestion of a member of the President's Cabinet, the American Seminar, composed of fifty to one hundred educators and men in public life, after studying the situation in Europe each summer for the last seventeen years, now proposes a new venture of studying American problems by meeting outstanding leaders in this country. The itinerary will include New York City, April 20-25; Washington, D. C., April 26-30; and an optional trip to the South, May 1-5.

The group expects to meet the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Secretaries of State, of Agriculture, of Labor, of the Interior, etc., informal groups in the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Ambassadors from China, Spain, and Russia, and other leaders.

In New York a survey of the principal problems confronting the American people will be made under the leadership of Charles A. Beard, Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Thomas, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and others. We expect to study the problems of city government with Mayor LaGuardia, and of crime and racketeering with District Attorney Thomas Dewey, as well as the unsolved problems of labor and capital with outstanding labor leaders like John L. Lewis and the leading representatives of industry and finance. The group will study the relations of business and government, will seek to make a critical appraisal of the New Deal, of the policies of President Roosevelt, and the prospects for the Presidential election in 1940 in connection with our principal political and economic problems.

Those who can spare an additional five days will study city government in Cincinnati with Charles P. Taft, 2nd, the T. V. A., the share-cropper problem, and the Cooperative Farms in Mississippi. A well-known bishop writes: "If I am accepted, I expect these days will be the greatest days in my life."

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The author has supplied in "The Hidden Lincoln" an interesting and important commentary on the original Herndon letters. In this he touches upon the composition of the Lamon biography, from Herndon's resources. He gives the interesting facts connected with Herndon's "Lincoln" written with the assistance of Weik. He speaks of the lack of comity among certain Lincoln students who were unwilling to share their control of Herndon materials with another distinguished Lincoln biographer. He recalls the acknowledged motives that weakened the Hay and Nicolay Life, and makes known startling testimony in reference to Robert T. Lincoln's destruction of certain private papers revealing a Cabinet officer's infidelity to his illustrious father.

Many Lincoln students will sympathize with Mr. Hertz in his aim to rehabilitate Herndon's position as a Lincoln investigator and author, and his method of mixing "the best with the worst." Every student of history and biography and of human nature knows the god of trivia often leaves unwelcome footprints upon the genealogical paths behind nature's greatest men. But the generations treasure alone the fruits of their genius and their human service.

L. E. ROBINSON

MUSIC

Toscanini Broadcasts

THE late William J. Henderson was the only first-line newspaper music critic one could read with respect in recent years, but there was one subject on which his emotions got the better of his mind. He was irritated by the commotion over Toscanini: the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra and the music of Beethoven and Brahms, he insisted, would remain when Toscanini had gone. He was irritated because the commotion was made by people who could not themselves have distinguished Toscanini from any other conductor, good or bad, and who knew his greatness only from ceaseless public proclamation of the fact. And his irritation led Henderson to contend that it would have been better not to proclaim Toscanini's greatness, and to have a less great conductor at the head of the Philharmonic-Symphony—which was as absurd as to contend that since many people pretend to admire Cézanne only because of what other people have said about him, these others should not have said it, and he should not have painted.

Henderson, we may assume, would have been irritated by the renewed and greater commotion over the recent Toscanini broadcasts. He would have insisted that among the countless listeners only a few really could appreciate what in Toscanini's performances the excitement was about. He would have been aware that N. B. C.'s objective was not to benefit our musical life—not "to enrich musical appreciation," not "to encourage the support of local symphony orchestras"—but to benefit N. B. C. in its competition with Columbia. He would have pointed out that in accomplishing its objective N. B. C. had in fact damaged the orchestras of the country: by scheduling the broadcasts on the night when these orchestras gave their principal series of concerts it diminished their audiences, and this after luring away some of their best players. And he would have proceeded to a conclusion justified to a degree by the damage but not by the false preten-

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sions. For the fact is that we have rarely got the good things in art for good reasons and under good conditions; and it would be folly to reject them when they come for bad reasons and under bad conditions—to reject the performances of a Toscanini, as Henderson and others would have us do, because we owe them to the fact that they serve the ends of N. B. C., of Mr. Sarnoff, of Mr. Chotzinoff, or because they provide an occasion for phony pretensions and other irritating forms of human weakness. What Henderson wanted done the Philharmonic-Symphony Society finally did —with the result that a year later we still had, true enough, the Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra and the music of Beethoven and Brahms, but these as conducted by Barbirolli, which Henderson did not like very much (and we had them, incidentally, not for good reasons).

N. B. C. having set out to bring Toscanini's performances to the ears of radio listeners, we do best to ignore motives and consider results; and I would say the undertaking was only partly successful. One hundred per cent transmission would have been defeated in varying degrees by the inadequate reception in many homes; but even one hundred per cent reception would have been defeated by the losses in transmission. The shape that Toscanini gave a work in time was completely transmitted; the correlated shape in tone was often altered by monitoring in the control-room: as Toscanini built up a tonal mass the monitor cut it down; when he reduced it below a certain point the monitor built it up. What, moreover, Toscanini made distant, the monitor brought near; what he veiled, the monitor made clear and bright—which wrought havoc with things like Debussy's "The Sea" and Berlioz's "Queen Mab."

But there were losses even before the loss from monitoring. Privately made records exist which testify to the fact that these broadcast performances originating in the acoustically dead N. B. C. studio lacked the richness of sound of broadcast performances originating in resonant Carnegie Hall. Moreover, to hear the broadcast performance of the Overture to "Semiramide" after the performance of the work recorded by Toscanini with the Philharmonic-Symphony two years ago—to hear the absence in one of the miraculous contours and colorings of the other—was to realize how far the N. B. C. Symphony Orchestra was from being able to produce all that Toscanini could imagine. And for some time the performances gave evidence of lack of inner repose and ease in Toscanini himself—most strikingly in the nervous, tense performance of Mozart's G minor Symphony at the first broadcast, and again at the first Carnegie Hall concert in the tense, hurried, driven performance of Beethoven's Ninth, in which even the strings that are the glory of the N. B. C. Symphony sounded dry and harsh. But at the second Carnegie Hall concert one could infer equilibrium inside Toscanini from the performance of Verdi's Requiem outside—its controlled flow, controlled intensity, controlled power, its plastic perfection, its loveliness of sound (one noted, however, occasional deficiencies in woodwinds and brass). And here, for the first time, what his unique powers created one heard in its entirety.

In this series, as always, one was appalled by Toscanini's waste of these powers on things like Martucci's "Tarantella," Tommasini's "Carnival of Venice," Saint-Saëns's "Danse Macabre," or even Brahms's Serenade in A. That, one comes to realize, is something one must take with Toscanini; other things are the unctuous voices of announcers, their pretentious mouthing of foreign names, the rubbish they are given to speak about the music.

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Letters to the Editors

Not the Doctors' Fault

Dear Sirs: In your issue of January 22 you wrote of the "failure of private medicine to meet the health requirements of the American public, etc." You quoted the National Institute of Health's startling discovery that sickness disables the poor to a greater degree than the wealthy and middle classes; and that the latter are able to command a better grade of medical service than the relievers and those in the less than $1,000 a year bracket. Was it merely an error of omission that you neglected to state that the wealthy and middle classes are also able to command a better grade of homes, automobiles, food, clothing, and leisure? And as a corollary, that the economic system is at fault, and not the type of medicine practiced today?

One does not need to be a close student of Karl Marx to understand that poverty breeds illnesses that do not touch the better economic classes, or at least do not leave such deep physical impairments. I number among my patients people who are on relief, and poor people who are not on relief. In their homes I find antiquated plumbing, carpetless floors, coal or kerosene stoves which heat one room terrifically and allow the other rooms to remain stone cold, larders which are empty, uncleanliness due to lack of bath tubs and to crowding, and unemployment which makes neurotics, hypochondriacs, and criminals. These people are never entirely free of sickness, not because the doctors do not give them Park Avenue service, but because of their poverty. And if you gave them de luxe service with private nurses, they would still be sick more than the "better off" people. It is the economic system which is at fault, not the doctors.

Are you trying to becloud peoples' minds by diverting their attention from basic issues to that of health, a field where you annoy only the doctors, who are known to be poor fighters and poor business men? You have a National Health Institute; try forming an institute for giving free automobiles to the poor. What a howl would come up from the automobile magnates, and how quickly you'd be muzzled! And that goes for other commodities, possession of which would reduce the sickness list much faster than de luxe service to the poor. Give people a better economic life, and they not only will keep well but will be able to afford adequate medical care under private medical practice.

JOSEPH LIBURT, M.D.

Huntington, N. Y., March 15

[We thoroughly agree with Dr. Liburt that a better economic life for the low-income groups would vastly improve their health. But that does not relieve medical officialdom of an obligation to cooperate with the public in working out a better organization of medical services under present conditions. Much could be done to ease the economic burdens of illness for the public if the profession recognized this obligation—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Rights of Women Attacked

Dear Sirs: Mrs. Lea Puymbroeck Miller, an art instructor at the University of Washington, and admittedly an excellent teacher, has been dismissed by the Board of Regents. The sole complaint against Mrs. Miller is that she has married another member of the university faculty; a resolution passed by the Regents forbids the employment of both husband and wife by the university. This resolution, invoked only against the wife, is an attack upon the hard-won rights of women. Such discrimination in Nazi Germany has merely forced women into menial positions, and has not improved economic conditions.

The faculty of the university, through the Instructors' Association, have voted by overwhelming majority in favor of reconsideration of the case and a rescinding of the resolution. We urge the readers of this magazine to join in sending letters of protest to the Board of Regents. Such action may not only secure Mrs. Miller's reinstatement but prevent similar dismissals in the future.

ELTON F. GUTHRIE,
Secretary, University of Washington Teachers' Union

Seattle, Wash., March 4

Enough Pictures?

Dear Sirs: I would like to report to fellow-readers of *The Nation* a surprising turn in the fortunes of the picture magazines. During the last months the newsstand circulation of an outstanding representative of that group has taken an extremely sharp drop. Newsstands which were formerly sold out completely by Monday are inundating the Western News Company of this city with truckloads of unsold copies.

Whether this drop in circulation has taken place outside Chicago also I don't know. It seems that the supply of picture magazines has just about reached the saturation point. I, for one, am extremely grateful. With the newsstand in our drugstore only six feet long, and every week bringing *Life, Pic, Look, Picture, Click, Foto, Now and Then, Focus, See,* and *Peek,* we were going gaga trying to find space for them. Now, I suppose, most of these will fold up and steal into the night.

SOL. BERNARDS

Chicago, Ill., March 10

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